MEXICO BEFORE THE WORLD

Public Documents and Addresses of PLUTARCO ELIAS CALLES

This compilation of a portion of the public documents and addresses of President Calles has been made with the object of providing an adequate and a convenient reference source for the benefit of those who seek authoritative information upon the man and his work and upon topics relevant to the present state of governmental, social, economic and kindred conditions in Mexico. It constitutes a presentation and a record of the official and personal aspirations of the President and also of the government and the masses of Mexico upon national necessities and problems, and especially in matters which concern Mexico's international relations. In this book answers will be found to virtually all of the questions upon which illumination may be desired by persons who are interested in knowing what is being done in Mexico and why, and in the development of President Calles' programme of reform and reconstruction.

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Public Documents and Addresses of
PLUTARCO ELIAS CALLES

Translated from the Spanish and edited by
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FOREWORD

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New York, December, 1927. R. H. M.

CALLES AND SOCIAL REFORMS IN MEXICO

(Written by the Argentine author, Jose Ingenieros, after visiting Mexico, in 1925.)

President Plutarco Elias Calles, who at present is directing the destinies of the Mexican people, is an exceptional statesman, a notable personality in every way, a man worthy of the admiration of cultivated intellects. Educated in modern socialistic ideas and conscious of the destinies of his country, General Calles is establishing a government of reparation and justice and leading Mexico along proper lines in the direction of social reforms. Hence he is supported by millions of workmen and tillers of the soil who represent the vital forces of the country. Few elements in Mexico are in opposition to his great and fruitful programme of national reconstruction, which should serve as an example to all the nations of America.

MEXICO IN NEWS AND IN FACT

(E. Gomez de Baquero, in El Sol, Madrid, December 25, 1926.)

Each week, if not more frequently, the cable brings sensational information from Mexico of Indian uprisings, popular disturbances, military revolts, bloody official repressions, threats of war with the United States. Later most of these reports are authoritatively denied, but in the meantime they have gone the rounds of the press of the world, transmitted by the news agencies of the United States. This anthology of disasters, as Alfonso Reyes remarked during his lectures at Lyons, is too systematic to be free from the suspicion of being inspired. One does not need to be a seer to perceive in this press campaign against Mexico an incongruous mixture of oil and holy water and the irritation of Big Business, of the captains and sergeants of industry, before the sight of Mexico defending its petroleum, its mines and its agriculture from foreign economic domination; and also the opposition of the Catholic Church against the laws of secularization, which last, perhaps, is creating more clamor outside of Mexico than within the country itself. This coincidence of temporal and spiritual motives is not sur-

prising. Are the Knights of Columbus not seeking to organize a Protestant crusade, considering that the Protestants are in a majority in the United States, to aid the Catholic Church against Mexico and its obstinate determination not to permit the monopolization of oil or of conscience? The poet Lopez Velarde was correct when he told the Mexicans that the oil deposits in that country were the gift of the devil. Possibly it is an indication of the decline of faith in miracles that among the news notices from Mexico transmitted by the Anglo-Saxon cables nothing has been said of the appearance there of some fatalist comet, hailed as presaging the downfall of President Calles, similar to that which the historians of the seventeenth century describe as having been seen in Constantinople and which was regarded as a harbinger of the ruin of the city.

MEXICO
BEFORE THE WORLD

POLITICAL PLATFORM

SPEECH IN GENERAL TERAN, NUEVO LEON, ACCEPTING THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

(From El Democrata, Mexico City, September 6, 1923.)

Numerous political groups throughout the country have honored me by making me a candidate for President. The greater part of these offers came when I was still a member of the cabinet of President Obregon and for this reason I deemed it expedient to delay announcing my decision on the question of my candidacy until my retirement from the government, owing to my conviction that, because of our national psychology and the fundamental characteristics of our incipient democracy, no public functionary invested with, or exercising, official authority, should participate in a personal capacity in political-electorial activities.

Understanding with deep gratitude the action taken by these political parties in their recent convention in advancing my candidacy for President of the Republic and now being separated from all official connection with the government, the time is fitting for me to define my position in the approaching campaign. Therefore I consider it pertinent, for a proper public appreciation of the issues of the contest, to state my position briefly, but clearly and frankly, upon the political situation as it affects the Republic.

It is apparent that in all the nations of the world at present there is in process a fundamental

transformation in social institutions, and in the public conceptions of them, of an economic, a juridical and a political nature which has for its object the reorganization of society upon a more just and equitable basis. The fundamental object of this reform movement is the redemption, the betterment and the progress of the masses.

In Mexico this social phenomenon presents peculiar characteristics, for the reason that the desires of our working classes for progress and the improvement of their position are more intense and more justified than among most other peoples, considering that they have been inspired and tortured by the innumerable afflictions consequent upon four centuries of exploitation and misery. In some countries the public power has deemed it possible and expedient to impede the development of modern human aspirations by opposing them with all of the force at the command of the ruling authorities. Among us, the government emanating from the Revolution has seen fit to confirm on many and repeated occasions the justice of assisting our people in their desires to uplift themselves and has considered it proper to attack the social problem in a spirit of ample justice and equity and, within its attributes and according to the measure of its possibilities, to provide for the economic, intellectual and moral betterment of the workers.

In this connection I consider the action of our public authorities to be most justified and prudent. Consequently I applaud with sincere enthusiasm the exact compliance with the provisions concerning labor and social welfare contained in Article 123 of our Constitution, as well as the intelligent and reiterated endeavors of President Obregon to define with the greatest conciseness and in a precise and categorical form the general and perma-

nent elements in the relations between employee and employer and the particular local juridical aspects or circumstances presented by the same, to the end of determining, with full knowledge of the facts, the respective jurisdiction of the federal powers and the local governments in the regulation, forwarding and resolution of labor and social problems.

I also applaud with all my heart the fundamental principles of Articles 27 and 28 of the Constitution. These include an agrarian policy of strict legality, and particularly the distribution, or restitution, of common lands to the villages or hamlets which lack lands and water for their use or necessity; the providing of facilities for all Mexicans to acquire title to free national lands for farming or grazing purposes, in amounts sufficient to meet the necessities of their families and to guarantee their economic independence; the subdivision into small holdings of great estates; the patronizing of cooperative societies for the creation of public works of social necessity and the encouragement of thrift, of personal initiative and the spirit of enterprise among our laboring classes.

I consider as a prime and determining factor for the prosperity and progress of our poorer classes the vigorous and substantial impulse which has been given to public education, the establishment of schools, even in the most remote parts of the country, and the incorporation into the courses of study of useful and practical tendencies. Finally, the systematic campaign against vice and crime, fanaticism and idleness, which is being waged by the government, is highly beneficial to our people and worthy of the greatest praise.

The ideas which I have expressed are already matters of public knowledge. My term of office

as Minister of Gobernacion afforded me opportunity of leaving them established officially when I retired, with the eloquent evidence supplied by established facts. On the other hand, my complete agreement with the President is perfectly well known, not only with respect to financial policy and the strict compliance with contractual obligations, but also in connection with the rigidly legalistic tendencies which have animated his relations with the state and local governments throughout the Republic, his condemnation as anti-Constitutional of all intervention by legislatures or other authorities in local elections, and his insistance upon the independent administration of the finances of the municipalities.

I especially approve and sustain the principles and practices which have served as a standard for our President in his international policy.

With these antecedents, it appears logical to conclude that the political organizations which have done me the honor of making me their candidate for President thereby desire to signify their complete approbation of the policy developed by the chief executive and also their expectation that his successor shall faithfully carry out the same programme. If this conclusion is correct, I desire to say that this is the sense and the object of my political principles. If my supporters desire me to continue the political and administrative programme of General Obregon, I must solemnly pledge myself to all the political parties who have given me their support, and to all the people of the Republic, that I accept the candidacy and, on the bases indicated, will enter the contest serenely, with ill-feeling toward none and without excluding any person from the right to be voted for, against which repression I shall fight with all my

influence, for I desire that the campaign shall be essentially democratic; that I condemn with all energy acts or proceedings of officials or private individuals which have a tendency to interfere with the free and spontaneous manifestation of the will of the people; that there shall be absolute equality, so far as I am concerned, among all the political groups which support me and that all my partisans shall by their acts dignify and elevate the level of the campaign, subjecting all of their acts and proceedings to the canons of the law, morality and good faith.

POLITICAL PROGRAMME

SPEECH AT THE MEETING ORGANIZED BY HIS SUPPORTERS IN THE THEATRE IRIS, MEXICO CITY

(From El Democrata, Mexico City, September 20, 1923.)

Despite all that is affirmed by professional politicians, and which may be called the science of deceit, I firmly believe that in political activities, as in all others, honorable men should speak the naked truth, regardless of what the consequences may be.

I believe that in order to form a strong government, to control and to organize the country, it is necessary to cement the government with truth and with justice. Therefore, upon expounding my ideas, I shall avoid euphemisms, mental reservations and farce, although this will probably cost me some votes as a candidate for President.

There are politicians who seek to deceive the public with specious promises of impossible accomplishments which, on one hand, offer to the voters the bait of purely rhetorical promises and, on the other hand, coquet with the great capitalistic interests, from whom they seek money with which to enable them to mount to power; and who offer, in this new world of the strife of the classes, unconditional aid to both opposing interests and thereby dream of obtaining the votes of everyone.

But those who do this cannot expect to gain the confidence of the people; neither can they organize thereby a stable government. They are like ships which leave port without rudder or compass, which are blown hither and thither by the first wind that beats upon them. The people now realize that the trickster who begins by deceiving them as a candidate will end by deceiving them as President of the Republic.

If, in order to create a strong government, it is necessary to cement it with truth, so that all the citizens may respect it, it is also necessary to organize it according to the principles of the strictest morality. Morality may only be attained through the selection of the administrative personnel, without other standards than those supplied by the honesty of the persons chosen to serve the government, considering that experience has taught us that the greatest efficiency cannot be counted upon from the servile servants of a personal bureaucracy controlled by motives based upon political loyalty—political loyalty of a very relative value, considering that in this form this virtue partakes of the character of merchandise offered for sale to the highest bidder.

In the modern world campaigns of democracy are not merely political fights, but essentially social contests, and for this reason I intend, from the beginning, to express my opinions with entire frankness.

The agrarian tendencies of the Revolution, which live and flourish among our rural population, cannot be suppressed until this national necessity is satisfied. The solution lies in our laws and it is only necessary to continue the fight to force a compliance with these laws. Agrarianism must be developed with all energy and without

vacillation, but within the limits of method and order, in order that our agricultural production may not suffer and without harm coming to those whom we are seeking to benefit. By reason of the relation between the population and the expanse of the Republic, as well as on account of the state of culture in which the masses are found and the slight resources which they possess, it would be foolish to destroy the productiveness of the land. I speak and fight for the compliance of the agrarian policy of the Revolution, for in this lies the revindication of the right of the people to live. To satisfy this necessity, the breaking up of the large estates which are yet intact and which, because of their size and the system under which they are worked constitute a monopoly of the soil, must be brought about through evolutionary proceedings, amply planned and studied, backed by a firm system of agricultural credit and by the organization of cooperative societies by the small farmers.

Opportunity thus will be given to obtain land, in the first place, to those energetic and industrious elements of our population who already possess some experience in farming. Later, for we are dealing with a country with a comparatively small population, encouragement should be given to immigrants and colonists from other countries, which only can be done by placing at their disposal lands which can be brought under cultivation by the construction of a series of irrigation works. And still more, the entire tendency of the Revolution should be in the direction of placing the land within the control of those who cultivate it.

I am frankly a Laborite and an ardent defender of the rights guaranteed to labor by Article 123

of the Constitution of 1917. I have never made a secret of this. My intervention in various conflicts between employees and employers, in which I have striven with all my power to see that justice was done to the workers, has earned for me my reputation as a radical, which is a source of so much concern to the reactionaries.

I have fought in order that the workers might obtain a part of what was due to them, in proportion to the forces developed by them and to the part of their life which they have sacrificed to production, in order that they might live better, obtain more comforts for their families, educate their children and that the worker might be given a dignified position in our social life and be taken into consideration in all the activities of national life.

One part of the responsibility for the solution of the labor problem rests, without doubt, upon the federal Congress and upon the local legislatures. Until now there is lacking a proper regulation of Article 123 to provide guarantees to the workers and to banish the unfounded fears of the capitalists that they will be harmed by being compelled to institute more just and humanitarian systems of labor for the benefit of their workmen, and by once for all causing to disappear the backward tendencies of some reactionary capitalists by bringing them to realize that the workers must be considered as an integral and principal part of productive activities.

In the class strife throughout the world there is a third class which should enact an important role—the middle class. The middle class, always ground between the upper and the nether millstones, has been despised and exploited by those on top without being sufficiently appreciated by

those beneath. This class should not remain indifferent. It is its right and its duty to fight for its happiness and for the improvement of its condition. In these fights for social emancipation the middle class should avail itself of the powerful weapons of the proletariat and of the capitalist. It should utilize the cultivated talent of the last and of the decision and the character of the workers because, like them, it has tempered its soul in pain and suffering. I should be very well satisfied if, during the development of my political campaign, the middle classes should take an active part in it, if they should organize and shake off the marasmus which binds them and through their own forces conquer the position which is theirs and form an equilibrium with the other two classes of society for the general benefit of the country.

The high priests of politics, the politicians, who were known to everyone and who always fail because they lack that which is necessary in order to triumph in life, faith and manhood—these high priests have complained that in my statements and speeches I have failed to outline my programme upon petroleum legislation, upon the question of the payment for damages caused by the revolution and for the lands which have been taken in solving the agrarian problem. Those who criticize me believe that it is necessary for a Presidential candidate to flatter the capitalists in order to obtain their support and that the fact of one being a candidate implies an obligation to satisfy them as to future legislation. It is my personal conviction that these matters are within the jurisdiction of the federal Congress and as I firmly expect that the future Congresses will be truly representative of the nation I am confident that they will resolve these problems

justly and at the same time defend the national interests. And in case the wealthy possess sufficient gold to purchase the consciences of the legislators, I shall be the first to send up the cry of alarm in order that the Mexican people may demand that they comply with their duty and prevent them, by direct action if necessary, from consummating their own ruin.

In my speech in this city on September 21st, I said that some enemies of my candidacy, and even some organs of the press, affirmed that as an aspirant to the Presidency I was not satisfactory to various foreign governments. I then stated, with all sincerity, that I did not preoccupy myself with such arguments, that I was responsible only to the people of Mexico and that even to enunciate such criticisms was, to my way of thinking, an attack upon their sovereignty. Because I firmly believe that a worthy people, conscious of their rights, should not consult foreign governments in the settlements of domestic questions. Nevertheless, these statements, honorably and sincerely patriotic, have been badly interpreted and commented upon in even a worse manner. I have been painted as a man who desires to see Mexico isolated from friendship and harmony with other peoples. This is unjustified. It would be foolish for me to take such a position. I desire the rapprochement of my country with every other country in the world, but it is my firm conviction that these relations must be established upon a firm basis of mutual respect, of equity and of justice, without assenting to the proposition that strong nations should impose their will upon weak nations in matters of domestic concern. I consider that, as all the acts of individuals should be regulated according to moral standards and that they should govern their relations in compliance with moral obligations, so also should nations conduct

their affairs according to the mutual respect which is imposed by national dignity and morality and comply rigorously with the legal agreements which they contract with other nations.

Once more I desire to make my profession of political faith, by saying that I accept and will consolidate the policies of General Obregon. And I repeat this with all clarity, for at this time there are those who are attacking our illustrious President, believing that they will be successful by unfurling the banner of the opposition.

I will follow his policies, not alone because it is demanded of me by the most elemental loyalty, but also because by so doing I shall have the consciousness of not being a traitor to the Revolution and of developing a labor in favor of the men of the fields and of the workers and, because of the great forces which have been set in operation by this administration through the Ministry of Education, to extirpate ignorance from among our people, for I can assure you that this work is the most intense and efficient of its nature which has ever been carried on in Mexico. For this accomplishment alone, irrespective of the others, the people of Mexico should be grateful to General Obregon and to those who have aided him, from the highest official to the most humble of our self-sacrificing school teachers.

To conclude, you may be certain, my hearers, as well as the entire nation, that I shall always battle, in all ways and on all grounds, for the definite triumph of the principles of the Revolution; that I enter this campaign conscious that having been entrusted by the Revolution with its sacred banner, I am armed with the conviction which I always have had, now have and always will have, of blind faith in the triumph of our cause. For if by some fatality it is defeated, because the obstacles reared by the reaction are beyond my power to overcome, tomor-

row another will rise up who will surely triumph, inasmuch as the cause of the redemption of the masses, of liberty, of human improvement, is, in the last analysis, the force of progress, and this can be halted by no one. The world can not go back. We have faith in the future.

FOR THE WORKING CLASSES

SPEECH IN MEXICO CITY OCTOBER 21, 1923.

(From El Democrata, Mexico City, October 22, 1923.)

I will be brief. In the first place I desire to express my gratitude for this manifestation, a gratitude which is more profound when I consider, in common with everyone else, that those who are present, either as parts of political groups or as individuals, are here in full consciousness of why they are here and that they are aware of the mission which has been entrusted to them. As the result of my clear and explicit declarations of September 5th last, of my always well defined antecedents as a man and of the attacks being made upon me by my political adversaries, it is apparent to all my friends and partisans that I am not a faltering revolutionist, that I am with the Revolution, that I defend the principles of our Constitution, as expressed in Articles 27 and 123, and that I shall devote all of my energies, all of my character to elevating the moral, intellectual and economic level of the working classes, in order that they may no longer continue to be a group of criminally exploited slaves.

In my previous declarations I have said that I would follow the policy of General Obregon. I did this in the full belief that General Obregon has pursued a purely revolutionary policy in the administration of the internal affairs of the country, a decorous policy in foreign affairs and a policy of honor without blemish in his personal affairs.

Consequently I am not here today to offer you anything new, or to make you miraculous promises or pledges of chimerical reforms. I am not inclined to pursue votes by offering a programme promising reforms in ten years that cannot be realized in two centuries. I confine myself to promising to sustain with every energy our Constitution in its revolutionary postulates, without permitting it to be overridden by the powerful. And because of my past record, which is on open book; of my firm and clear declaration of my revolutionary faith and also, by reason of the fact that the reaction, knowing me perfectly well and knowing that nothing nor no man can cause me to deviate from a straight line and that no interest, much less a political contest, can force me to sacrifice my principles, has raised against me this outcry and this artificial tempest—realizing all this, I am certain that the working and the middle classes of the Republic next July will democratically answer these attacks upon me by electing me President of Mexico.

My sincerity has been criticized by some politicians who say that my radicalism is not in accord with the times, that in the old world, in Europe, in Italy and Spain, there have been movements with which my programme does not accord. I say to these critics, affirming my revolutionary creed, that I do not accept, nor shall I accept, reactionary movements which are sustained by force and by reactionary governments. Others have said that my candidacy is not regarded favorably in the United States and in Europe. That is a matter of indifference to me. I have to render an account of my acts only to the people of Mexico, the free people of my own country. Those who think differently are of the stripe of the traitors, who, upon a certain historic occasion, went to Europe in search of a prince to govern them. The traitors who are still

at work should remember the Cerro de las Campanas (The Hill of the Bells at Queretaro, where Maximilian was executed.)

The initiation of this campaign has thrown into relief the extravagance of the wealthy in the use of their money, in a certain way. The names of Presidential candidates who were regarded as suitable instruments for the great interests had scarcely been mentioned when the land monopolists voted three hundred thousand pesos to begin their campaign. We began to hear of the millions of the industrials, the bankers and the oil people which are to be devoted to the distortion of public opinion—of the gold of these interests with which, according to their belief, it is possible to corrupt any one. Three hundred thousand pesos has already been thrown to the winds to combat the revolutionary candidate. These are the same gentlemen who never have commiserated the wretched condition of the farm laborers and who have even gone so far in their determination to deny a scrap of ground to the people, a handful of corn to the family of the peon, as traitorously to invoke the aid of foreign governments.

I shall bless the moment when the lands are distributed and when every honorable and worthy citizen may be able to place his foot upon his own property. The revolutionists, the men of conscience, are with me—those who do not seek gold or office, neither of which I have to give them. Those who desire them should apply to the other side. On this side are the revolutionists of good faith, who will defeat reaction at the polls, as already it has defeated it on the field of battle.

SOCIAL POLICY

A MANIFESTO TO THE NATION. A BATTLE FOR SOCIAL REFORMS, MORE THAN A POLITICAL MOVEMENT OR AN ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

(From El Democrata, Mexico City, December 9, 1923.)

Since my acceptance of the candidacy for President, offered me by all of the political groups of revolutionary tendencies, I have expressly stated that my fundamental proposition, should I be elected, will be to continue the work begun by General Obregon, in the sense of putting into practice the social reforms which are embodied in the aspirations of the Mexican people.

General Obregon has been the first executive who has oriented his policy in the direction of bringing about the social betterment of the people, which since 1910 has been the aim of the Mexican revolution.

His government has been the first to realize, as rapidly as Constitutional limitations have permitted, an efficient distribution of lands. It also has been the first to afford means for developing the formation of labor organizations and placing the industrial worker in a position to benefit by the social programme contained in the Constitution of 1917.

The Vain Efforts of the Reactionists

It is natural that the reaction should endeavor to prevent the consolidation of a régime so firmly oriented in the direction of social reform and that, impotent otherwise to halt this movement, it should

place in the field a reactionary candidate, seeking to accomplish in this manner that which it will never succeed in doing in the legitimate field of civic activity.

We have seen the inutility of the press campaign which has recently been waged against the government of General Obregon and of the logical continuation of his revolutionary policy, a campaign which promised, in the loss of a majority control of the Congress, which is the last refuge of the hopes of the de la Huerta faction, to seat its candidate through the medium of frauds to be perpetrated in the installation of the next Chamber of Deputies, which will have the responsibility of canvassing the Presidential vote. This movement, upon seeing closed to it, through its lack of democratic force, the road to a legal election of its candidate for President, resorted to the evil method of the cuartelazo (army uprising), always an unfruitful procedure when directed against a government identified with the interests of the masses.

These neo-reactionaries, headed by Enrique Estrada and Guadalupe Sanchez (two sworn enemies of agrariarism and accomplices of the great land owners of the states of Jalisco and Vera Cruz) forgot that the majority of those composing the federal army preserved their revolutionary idealism and consequently, for the first time in our history, the regular army was, because of reasons of common origin, allied with the masses of the city and of the rural districts and with the strong nucleuses of the middle class which in all parts of the country responded to the call of the workers.

The Revolutionists United

The reaction foolishly believed that the revolutionary sentiment had become befogged. To its surprise and terror, from the commencement of my

campaign (which is more of a social than a political movement) it could see that the revolutionists of all beliefs were arrayed like one man behind the radical platform which I represent and that they could clearly distinguish the alluring, but deceitful, wiles of a man who, despite the many evils which he has caused and still may cause, nevertheless by his defection from the revolutionary ranks has worked a social benefit by bringing about the demarkation between the two camps and forcibly producing a categorical definition between the true and the false revolutionists of Mexico.

But nevertheless, considering that the reaction has committed the stupid error of abandoning the field of legality in favor of another terrain, in which undoubtedly it is more weak than in the first one, and of forcing an issue against a majority of field workers and industrial laborers, backed by the action of a government and by a revolutionary army, we ourselves will meet it on this ground, temporarily abandoning the political campaign once again to defend with arms the revolutionary principles represented by the government of General Obregon which is menaced by new reactionaries, heirs of the treasons of Comonfort and of Santa Anna.

Places Himself at the Orders of the President

Before this menace it is my duty, as it is that of all sincere revolutionists, to offer my services to the President of the Republic and to place myself at his orders, to the end that he may utilize me in any post which, as a soldier of the Revolution, he may assign me. So far as I am concerned, considering the elements identified with my candidacy, I am certain that, in accepting my nomination for the Presidency, I did so because it signified the continuation of the revolutionary programme of the present executive of the Republic.

I know that, with the same enthusiasm with which they have thrown themselves into the political campaign, the field laborers and the workers of the Republic and the generous-minded youth of the middle classes who have shared with them their anxieties and their sufferings will bare their breasts to the reactionaries, in defense of the legal institutions of our country and will seal with their blood the obligation which we all have contracted to labor energetically for the social betterment.

SPEECH IN IRAPUATO, GUANAJUATO

DEMANDS THAT THE INDUSTRIALS CEASE TO EXPLOIT THE WORKER AND THAT THE THREE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE, THE CLERGY, VICE AND IGNORANCE, BE COMBATTED

What a challenge to the reaction is this assembly, formed by the reunion of free citizens; of citizens conscious of their rights, who are attracted here because they realize that in this campaign are being discussed the postulates upon which are to be formed the future social organization of Mexico! The reaction insists that the people of Mexico are not capacitated for democracy, that they should remain in ignorance, that they lack the light of reason or even of intuition. It affirms, especially referring to the indigenous races, that they are not capable of appreciating the situation in which they live and that, accordingly, it is impossible for them to judge the problems of their own country or to understand what is best for their own interests. This meeting, I repeat, is more than a challenge. It is a stroke given by the Mexican people to those who pretend to declare, for the benefit of their own private interests, that the people are incapable of directing their own destinies and of organizing a government in accordance with the general interests of the country.

Here are assembled representatives of all the directing elements of the country, the middle class, the industrial workers and the agricultural laborers, those to whom I appealed upon initiating my cam-

paign. These elements of Mexican society, of whose support I have desired to avail myself from the commencement of this political campaign, despite the alleged incapacity of which they have been indicted by the intellectual leaders of the reaction, possess a greater consciousness of their rights, of their responsibilities and of the interests which at this moment are contending in the political arena than those elements which call themselves capable, the intellectual conservatives.

The worker, the agricultural worker, the man of the middle classes, have responded to my call and in my journey through the Republic I have seen them form themselves into compact and enthusiastic groups to defend the banner of the Revolution, which is their own banner. On the other hand, the intellectuals of the reaction clamor in vain. Their voice is lost in space. Despite their rage, they cannot rally their forces. The exploiters of the people, the parasites, are ignorant of the effort and the character which is tempered and developed on the battle-field. They lack the great soul which is necessary to fortify them for the daily combat against misery.

Regardless of all the explanations which I have given in numerous discourses upon the range of my programme, the reaction apparently continues to worry over my principles, which it declares to be unsound and unsettling. The press of the capital continues to print editorials based upon erroneous reports of my speeches although, aside from the usurpations and injustices which the privileged classes in this country have raised as their banner, there are no human reasons for combatting this programme which, I repeat, is not mine, not a thing which belongs to Calles, but that of the people of my country, of the working and producing masses of my country, of the Revolution.

Calles' Programme has Broken the Old Standards

What is there unsound in the programme which we are preaching? There is nothing in it which is beyond one's unbreakable will to place into practice, to convert into reality, which is not established by our laws, which is not contained in our Constitution. What has happened is that my crusade has shattered the old standards of archaic politics. It has broken away from the traditions and customs of those who believe thta political activity is based upon deceit, of the politicians who forever insist that electoral campaigns serve only the purpose of soliciting votes on a basis of promises which are never complied with. On the contrary, I believe that my duty orders to me to state clearly, with all simplicity, but also with all energy, what are my political principles and the principles of social reforms which I propose to develop in my government. It is this which in reality has alarmed the reaction, for my campaign has effectively aroused the working masses and awakened their class consciousness. But I believe that this is my obligation and my duty, considering that I prefer to lose the election rather than win it by deceiving the Mexican people. For this reason I and the group of revolutionists who accompany me preach the new orientations for the organization of society, but this does not mean embarking upon a programme of untried theories and with which the wôrld is unfamiliar. We preach orientations and reforms which are being effected among all the civilized peoples of the world, for it would not be just to our own country if it should be permitted to lag in this historical evolution, if it should lose irreparable time in its progress and if the sacrifices which it has made to modernize itself and to raise itself to a higher scale of civilization should remain sterile.

The Landed Aristocracy has Accomplished Nothing

The reactionaries, the conservative landed aristocrats, call themselves live forces and pretend to possess a hereditary, almost a divine, right to rule the people for whom they have done nothing, except to exploit them ruthlessly and to keep them always submerged in ignorance, to the end that they should continue to remain helpless.

What have these great land-owners of the Bajio (a rich agricultural region in the vicinity of Irapuato) done for national agriculture through the centuries? Where are the irrigation systems which they have installed to insure the steady cultivation of the land? Where is the modern agricultural machinery which they have imported, and which is used in a majority of countries, to enable Mexico to produce crops as cheaply as they are produced in other countries?

I have not seen anything of this sort, despite the fact that I have travelled in all parts of the Republic. I have seen only in an enormous majority of the cultivated fields of my country, in the producing acres of the haciendas, in the lands of the large proprietors, long lines of miserable oxen, silent and resigned, and the peon, wretched and exploited, struggling, as the oxen struggle with the primitive Egyptian plows, with the immense burden of their poverty and their sorrows. And is one a destroyer who asks lands to transform these exploited men into men who are economically free? Who asks that the hacendado, instead of enslaving the peons, shall resort to modern methods of cultivation, through the intelligent application of technical measures, to obtain profits which now come to him only through the exploitation of men? I believe not, and I am absolutely certain that the cry of our consciences, accompanying my voice, protests against

secular injustice and aspires vehemently to implant this reform which is demanded in Mexico by the most elemental justice and by human dignity.

The Accusing Voice of the Worker

In the Constitutional Convention in Queretaro the laboring elements of the Republic demonstrated in their discussions their capacity and their aptitude to treat technically the problems which concerned them. These are not lyrical and demagogical statements intended to burlesque the Olympian wisdom of the intellectuals of the reaction. We are now treating of a serene and conscientious analysis of realities. It was a worker in Queretaro who demonstrated what were the reasons for the crisis through which the textile industry was passing, and today I desire to repeat the fundamental causes advanced by the workman to demonstrate that these men who pretend to be the leaders of the country are, through their incapacity and folly, none other than the authors of our ruin.

This workman said, and he spoke truly, that in the textile mills there was machinery which was fifty years old, and that it was rarely that a mill could be found in which the machinery was less than thirty years old. Naturally, modern industry, impelled by the advancements in the mechanics of textile technique, has left in the rear the antiquated systems of textile production in Mexico. What is the result? The result is that our industrials, in order to enable them to compete with the foreign producers, who have reduced their costs by employing modern methods and modern machinery, propose two remedies. One, to surround the Republic with a prohibitive tariff wall, which would compel the consumer, that is to say the producing classes of the country who form the majority of the population, to pay a premium for the clothes which they

require, or secondly, to obtain the profits which they are now unable to gain because of their out-of date machinery by reducing the wages of their workers. That is to say, that the profits which a properly conducted business would net them should be obtained by exploiting the workmen.

Hence this system, which reveals the incapacity of our industrials, is founded on an enormous injustice, a transcendental error of social organization. In reality, under the capitalistic system, there are charged to the expense of production and carrying on the business, first, interest upon the capital invested; second, a charge for amortization of this capital which would provide for renewing the factory and the machinery in ten or fifteen years, which is regarded as the limit of the effective life of this equipment, owing to the rapid improvements made in modern industrial methods.

Deduct the Charges, But Do Not Use Them

Our industrials have always made these deductions, but they have never used them to replace or renovate their machinery, which would place the textile mills of Mexico on an equality with those of other countries and enable them to compete with the latter, without taking it out of the worker's wages or loading it upon the backs of the consumers. In some cases three, four or even five times the value of the machinery has been charged against the industry, in addition to interest upon the capital invested. But the Mexican industrials never have taken account of the social duty encumbent upon them to renovate and modernize their machinery and thereby avert the necessity of lowering the wages of their employees and augmenting the cost of living to the consumer. It is easier to hoard these deductions for amortization in the shape of inert capital or to spend them in high living, than

to exert themselves to be real industrials, to contribute to the aggrandizement of the country and to the betterment of the workers.

And to fight against such industrials, to insist that they modernize their machinery and humanely improve the condition of their workmen, without prejudicing the interests of the consumers, is to be called a disturber of industry!

A New Orientation of National Policy

In our platform there are not alone principles of social action. We also seek to provide a new orientation of our national policy. In order to organize a democracy in Mexico it is necessary that the public offices, from that of village mayor to President of the Republic, be filled by men elected by popular vote. For this reason, in my campaign, I am most concerned with the political affairs of the states, the districts and the municipalities. I have no candidates, either for Deputies or Senators or for Governors of the states in which the local elections coincide with the federal election. I have declared, and I now repeat it, that those who should have candidates are the people. My only desire is that those who occupy these posts shall be citizens who actually obtain a majority of the votes cast and who shall be men representative of the interests and of the desires of their constituents.

Happiness is not for those Who Deserve It, But for those Who Win It

But in the modern world, nothing is gained without fighting for it. Happiness is not for those who deserve it, but for those who know how to win it. Hence it is our obligation as honorable and sincere men to say to the people of the Republic, to the laboring masses, that their economic well-being and their political liberty must be worked out by them-

selves, by educating their character, by organizing with persistence, by joining together in self-sacrifice, by fighting energetically. Those who win overcome obstacles, rise above them, are not held back by difficulties, but crush them. Only through the character and energy of the Mexican people shall we be able to bring about the realization of this programme, which is eminently constructive. Tomorrow, in payment of all our efforts, we shall have the happy country of which our fathers dreamed, for which we ourselves long and which surely our children will enjoy.

CANDIDATE AND PRESIDENT

ADDRESS BY RADIO, DEFINING HIS POLITICAL PRINCIPLES AND PROGRAMME

(From El Democrata, Mexico City, April 12, 1924.)

Being accustomed to living in contact with the sentiments and the wrongs of the Mexican people, no consideration of a purely political nature would have caused me to aspire to the Presidency of my country had I not been convinced that the historical moment and the preparatory work accomplished through the Mexican Revolution, and very especially the generous policy followed by President Obregon in dealing with social questions, would permit the executive who suceeded him, provided he was animated by desires for the betterment of the various classes, to carry on in Mexico the task of just redemption imposed upon him, to the end that some benefit in the way of happiness might be gained, not alone for those who are privileged by fortune, but also for the humble.

I also believe that a similar programme of social action, of justice and a more human coordination of rights and duties will bring about in our country a greater consolidation of all the legitimate interests of the people, which will have the result of quelling the waves of protest which, among peoples in process of development, are frequently translated into movements of revolutionary convulsion, and that, within an ambient of concord, which will bring contentment to all, it will be possible to develop amply the public riches.

Those of us in Mexico who desire to bring about social reforms are not seeking to ruin property and wealth or to upset values. But it is our opinion that if the conquests which the workers in other civilized countries have gained can definitely be brought about in Mexico, millions of Mexicans who are now social outcasts can be freed from their shackles, through education, moral and economical stimulus and proper protection under advanced laws.

I firmly believe that the Constitution of 1917, in its fundamental articles, is adapted to public necessities in Mexico, and that its honest application, without employing it as an arm of destruction, but as a medium for collective improvement, will aid in a powerful manner to solve our weighty social problems.

The handling of the agrarian problem, understood and dealt with, as I conceive it should be, as an integral and a constructive problem, which includes the distribution of lands, the creation and encouragement of small land holdings, the providing of water for irrigation purposes and the foundation of an agricultural credit which will give impetus to the national development of agriculture, far from comprehending a suicidal programme is a work which is designed to be eminently constructive, in its effect upon the well-being and the prosperity of the country. So far as this programme touches the advantages of a social character which are sought by the laboring masses, its implantation in Mexico, together with methods and systems of providing legal protection for labor, which among the most advanced peoples have brought prosperity and fortified all industries, can be resisted only by reactionaries who are fossilized and blinded by class hatred.

If the people concede me their confidence and I

become President of Mexico I shall endeavor, above all, to establish a robust nationalistic spirit, with the firm and energetic proposition of transforming Mexico into a real country, and to stimulate every generous and honorable effort toward reconstruction. I cherish the hope that I shall be supported by all men of good will, who not alone possess the courage to demand their rights, but who comprehend the high duties that devolve upon us as leaders of the nation, in order that some day we shall not feel, as we do now, dispirited and ashamed as we see on one side the happiness and the prosperity of the few and on the other the interminable hosts of the sad and the disinherited, those who have poured out their blood to win us our freedom in the crises of our history, without gaining for themselves more than eternal neglect and, at the same time, perpetual glory.

SPEECH DEFINING THE FIELDS OF ACTION IN NATIONAL POLITICS

(From El Democrata, Mexico City, April 15, 1924.)

General Calles delivered a stirring address, saying that since the commencement of the campaign it has been his desire to throw into relief the difference between the various fields of action, he being aligned with the Revolution, while the reaction attacked it, and to place the partisans of either side where they belonged. In a way, this desire had been realized, for he was unable to observe either in the meeting or in its vicinity the presence of a single representative of the reaction.

He continued by saying that his ideas on social problems were well known, that he did not count upon obtaining votes with which to sustain them by flattering the masses, but because of his firm conviction that only through the realization of these ideas could the country progress. That there should be leaders with sufficient courage to remind the people of their duties and obligations, as well as those who preach to them only of their rights.

General Calles said that the field workers who received lands were obligated to cultivate and improve them, and to begin by improving themselves and their families, intellectually and by education; physically, by demanding better standards of living; morally, by diverting themselves with wholesome recreations and abandoning vicious habits; economically, by their strength and their work. He added that the worker who failed to

place into production the lands obtained by him through the Revolution and to use the fruit of this field for the improvement of himself and his family, did not deserve to be given land and that the Revolution should take it away from him, as it was now taking it from the great landed proprietors.

The speaker also declared that the agrarian problem did not alone include the distribution of lands, but also a system of providing the small farmer with the means of cultivating his fields. This, he said, demanded enormous effort and great sacrifices on the part of the people collectively. Consequently, it was necessary for the small farmer to do his share by making the land produce and by bettering his own condition and that of his family. He ended by exhorting the laborers to devote to their work the same energy of which they have provided evidence in the revolutionary strife.

CONSTRUCTIVE NATIONAL POLICY

(An interview, from El Democrata, Mexico City, April 18, 1924)

What is your opinion of the campaign which is being carried on by your opponents to depreciate your work and to defeat you in the coming elections?

What they are doing, I think, is perfectly logical. When one's efforts are impugned, it signifies that there is something which needs to be purified, regardless of whether the reasons assigned for the attack are good or bad. If they are bad, the attacker opens himsef to ridicule. If, on the contrary, they are good, they serve to orient the argument in such a manner as to afford the object of the attack an opportunity to rectify his errors. In both cases I believe that criticism is a service to the one who is criticized.

What is your opinion of your partisans in the Labor Party?

The action of the men who direct the Labor Party, like that of all the leaders who are affiliated with the Calles cause, has demonstrated that they possess a proper conception of their duty and that they are conscientiously moved more by the necessities of the Republic than by their own personal or group ambitions. Those who can discipline their ambitions provide a high example of fortitude, worthy of the warmest praise because it teaches those who follow them to discipline themselves.

Do you expect to have the support of the middle classes?

I believe that I have it. I have always tried to stimulate the middle classes by encouraging them. I have earnestly desired that they participate actively in the political renovation of Mexico. I have tried to induce them to give life by their efforts to their own class, that they shake off the lethargy which characterizes them, that they enter vigorously the contest and assert tenaciously their claim to the position to which they are entitled, in the first file. I feel satisfied with the efforts which I have made, for the middle classes have responded to my call with enthusiasm, and I congratulate them. Their action will be prodigal with social benefits and of transcendental importance to the democracy of the future. I expect that they will surprise us with their activities, which will belie emphatically their traditional indifference, and aid us in the solution of all our social problems.

It seems that in Mexico all men of advanced thought are called Bolsheviks. I, also, naturally. I have been called by my adversaries an extremist, only because I have not seen fit to oppose myself to the reform movements which at present are displacing the old and worm-eaten systems of government. Those who take this view of my work are mistaken. They possess little realization of what is going on in the world. Social renovation is a current which is today invading all the societies of the world. Like all impetuous currents, it must be properly guided. Methods of controlling and keeping it in its proper channels must be devised, by which it may be converted into an inoffensive and useful element, instead of an agent of destruction. Those who criticize me do not see it that way. So far as the Russian Soviet régime is concerned, it is too early to judge it. The recent changes of policy in Russia do not signify a failure of the experiment which they are making over there. The

ideals of the cause remain the same. However, in Mexico we are governing under the Constitution of 1917, and we are interested in Sovietism as a system of government only in its philosophical and humanitarian aspects.

What is your opinion of the constructive work of the labor syndicates?

These syndicates, in the form in which they are at present functioning, may be estimated as a sociological phenomenon characteristic of the present era. As in the Middle Ages, when the municipal authorities upon occasion served as the only brake upon the nobility by using their power to limit the feudal power, the labor syndicates today are charged with the responsibility of limiting the absorbing power of capitalism. Upon occasion they even protect capitalism from attacks which might possibly destroy it. It is possible for a properly organized syndicate to serve as a school of discipline, of civilism, of solidarity, in which we are greatly lacking.

What should be the attitude of the syndicates with respect to politics? Should they take part in politics?

The syndicate, as a moral personality, as a social organization, departs from its legitimate circle of action when it takes part in politics, because its net purposes are economic. The syndicate, when it invades fields foreign to its objects, loses its character and ceases to exercise its proper functions. This diversion from its purpose will lead to its dissolution. But this is not to say that the individuals who compose the syndicate should renounce their right to engage in politics. Because they affiliate with an organization of this sort they do not divest themselves of the civic duties with which they must of necessity comply, nor can it logically be held that they should become indifferent to them. Politics

should move upon a more elevated plane, and include in its ramifications every sector of social life.

What is your opinion of small rural land-holdings?

The efforts of any government which is truly nationalistic should, in the first place, be directed toward the creation of small land-holdings, and convert the field laborer into an owner of land upon which he may work for himself. This must be the most pressing fact which forces itself upon the attention of the future governments of Mexico, because if the field workers become land proprietors future revolutions may be foreseen and avoided. Substantial interests will be created which will guarantee established order, provide opportunities for capital to invest in the formation of agricultural banks, insurance companies and other manifestations of cooperation between capital and labor. Land division should be undertaken, not alone by the authorities, but by the landowners themselves. The possessors of large estates should give their workmen facilities for obtaining small farms. Collaboration with the government in this direction is a work of merit and patriotism.

What is your opinion of ejidos (commons) being held by communities in common?

Ejidos, as the common property of the inhabitants of small communities, to my mind signify the first step toward the creation of small rural land-holdings. Legislation is needed to guarantee against the impossibility of the monopolization of the commons by a few persons and that they shall remain in the control of the workers. I expect that later on legal authority will be given to divide the commons into parcels of individual ownership. Community operation of the ejidos, in my opinion, will not stimulate industry. Oftener than not it is apt to give rise to disputes among the villagers. But this system, as I have said, is in my judgment merely a

transitory condition in preparation for the advent of the small proprietor in Mexico.

What do you think should be Mexico's policy with regard to the immigration of European laborers?

Before encouraging this on the scale which is in operation in the United States and the Argentine, we need to see to it that the Mexican laborer receives more wages than he does at present. This cannot be brought about by the government, but by the laborer himself, who should strive to increase his wages through the syndicates. When the Mexican laborer receives the same wage for the same class of work that the laborer in the United States is paid, it is possible that European labor will be attracted to Mexico. The truth is that until the present, industry, agriculture and mining in Mexico has been founded and carried on at the expense of the stomach of the worker, that is to say, on the basis of the lowest compensation which would enable the worker barely to ive. This is a fundamental error. Capital has had too many privileges and too few checks. At present the European laborer cannot compete with the Mexican on account of the small wages which the latter receives. With the economic elevation of our working classes Mexico will have in European labor immigration a great source of wealth, and within a comparatively short time the population of the country will be doubled. Our climate and our natural riches argue in favor of this. But we need agricultural colonists, either from the United States or Europe, more than foreign labor for our industries.

Is there any prospect of revolutions arising in Mexico to endanger the capitalistic régime?

This is a matter so far in the future that it is difficult to say. As a matter of fact, our ideas and even our idiosyncracies argue against such a radical change. The limit between utopia and reality has

not been fixed. There can be no approach between utopian ideals and reality which is not preceded by a very serious study of causes and of the phenomena of an evolution, brought about by the decadence of a system by a medium which seeks to exclude it and to bring about its disappearance. Individual ambitions exist among us of such a formidable character that they can only be satisfied, or appeased, under the present social régime, which the laborites term capitalist.

Should protection be given the foreign capitalist who desires to make investments in Mexico?

The soil and the subsoil of Mexico contain and are capable of producing wealth which thus far has profited us nothing and which has not been exploited. Those who desire to invest their money in the development of this natural wealth should be protected and they are protected under our laws. It is one thing to comply with the laws and another thing to try to evade them by demanding and obtaining privileges which nullify them, and all the more so if these privileges make Mexicans the slaves of capital, without yielding them more reward than they receive in the shape of their miserably small wages, and particularly, above all, if the country receives no material or spiritual benefit. The capitalist who comes to Mexico should regard himself as a Mexican. He should plan and build in all of his activities with the idea of remaining here, of taking out citizenship papers. He should take a moral and spiritual interest in his surroundings. He should not regard Mexico as a temporary stopping place in which to remain for the shortest possible time in which he can make the greatest possible amount of money, to be taken to other countries and spent there. Unfortunately, this is what frequently occurs and it is a thing that we should prevent, without falling into the error of restricting anyone in

the exercise of those liberties of which we are legitimately proud. Our effort should be to bring about the naturalization of the majority of the foreigners who come to Mexico, as it is done in the United States.

How can the problem of increasing the agricultural production of the country be solved?

The establishment of small land-holdings will contribute greatly to the augmentation of this production. The construction of new lines of railroads in section which are now without rail transportation will be another helpful factor. The efforts of the various governments in this direction should be seconded by private enterprises, in the establishment of institutions of credit, the funds of which should be used for the exclusive purpose of increasing the volume of this principal source of our wealth. Great zones of the country, for example in Coahuila and Durango, need to be placed under the plow and brought under modern methods of cultivation, similar to those employed on the plains of the Argentine. Tree planting should be undertaken on extensive areas of the central plateau, especially of trees suitable for fuel, which yield profitable returns. Conditions of climate and rainfall are favorable for this development, which at the same time would bring about the abandonment of the growing of plants which only produce liquors and alcohol with which to poison the people.

What is your opinion of the policy of the United States in Latin America?

The United States is eminently a constructive country and provides us with an example of the manner in which energy may be utilized to produce results with the rapidity demanded by the present century. Its absorbent political tendency is based upon its productive capacity. It is almost a natural phenomenon to observe the manner in which its

excess of power tends to extend all over the continent. The people of the United States are not a nation of conquerors, but of producers. They need markets for their manufactures and raw materials for their industries. Its feared imperialism is almost always resisted by the intellectuals of the country and by the people themselves and in all cases is firmly opposed by the Latin peoples of the continent. Whatever may be the end sought in the cases wherein the United States had intervened in Latin America, these acts can only result in the material and spiritual isolation of the United States from the Latin American countries, because of the fears and reasonable suspicions of the latter.

What is your opinion of Pan-Americanism?

I believe it to be a noble ideal to which we should not refuse our assistance and enthusiastic collaboration.

EDUCATION AND SCHOOL TEACHERS

STATEMENTS TO THE CIVIC PROGRESSIVE EDUCATIONAL PARTY

(From El Democrata, Mexico City, April 20, 1924.)

To the first question asked him by the teachers, "What are your plans with respect to popular education?" General Calles answered that he would prefer to meditate deeply before answering, inasmuch as an entire programme by itself was comprehended in the interrogation and that only a charlatan would attempt to answer it off-hand. He then went on to say:

"I am a school teacher. That was my career. My ideas are faithfully exemplified in my work as Governor of the State of Sonora, which was eminently practical and which gave effective results. I can say without hesitation that the school system of Sonora is the best in the country. This is proved by the fact that, during my term of office, the income of the state was 3,500,000 pesos of which 2,600,000 pesos were expended in public instruction. A law was passed establishing a rural elementary school in every village where there were twenty children. In proportion to the population there is no doubt that Sonora leads in the number of schools and in the salaries which are paid to the teachers."

General Calles continued to say that he had provided all of the schools of Sonora with the best modern apparatus and the best qualified teachers

that could be found. There was but one professional school in the state, the Normal School, for the education of state teachers. This school was established when it became apparent that teachers were attracted to Sonora principally on account of the high salaries paid, but that eventually they returned to the localities from whence they came. He also established the first industrial school in the Republic, in which many of the teachers who initiated the organization of the Educational Party received their training, including Professors Martinez and Villarreal.

The conversation then turned on the subject of the throngs of teachers brought into Sonora by General Calles. At that time teachers in other parts of the country were receiving 150 pesos a month in paper money (worth about 10 centavos gold a peso or less). General Calles paid them 3,000 pesos, or its equivalent in gold or silver. He also established rewards of honor for the teachers. One veteran teacher was alloted a permanent seat in the State Legislature.

Professor Braulio Rodriguez then asked:

"After this conversation, General, it seems to me that your ideas on public education may be summed up in this: plenty of modern schools, taught by well paid teachers."

"Exactly," replied General Calles.

Teachers and Politics

The subject was then introduced of the political activities which up to this time had been engaged in by the school teachers, as individuals, but not as members of political groups.

"We are here in representation of the normal and the rural school teachers as a group," said Professor Olivares. "In eight days we have enrolled 221 and we believe that all of the teachers will respond to our call."

General Calles replied:

"What really has happened is that among the school teachers there is cowardice and many of them are reactionaries who have not abandoned their old habits."

"In the schools, only those who play politics get to the top," said Professor Olivares, "they in turn, do what they can, under threat of dismissal, to prevent those beneath them from mixing into politics. The ones on top have flexible knee joints and prostrate themselves before the heads of all the governments."

To this General Calles commented:

"Yes, they compose a group without character, regardless of the fact that it is their duty to form characters. But the time has come when the work of the schoolmasters fails to satisfy the laboring classes, because they have been kept back by them so far as education is concerned; because they have not complied with their duty.

"Actually, all classes have awakened. Even the lethargic middle classes have adopted an energetic attitude which causes them to be reckoned with. Only the teachers, as a group, are lagging behind.

"It is the duty of the school teachers to be men, to act in a manner which will force them to be taken into account in public matters. The important role which they should play has disappeared, through lack of character. It was on that account that I abandoned the career. I found myself surrounded by those who were in opposition to progress and evolution. I rejoice that for the first time in Mexico the school teachers are organized, as you have done."

In a material way General Calles had no cause to complain of his career as a schoolmaster, for at the age of twenty-one he had arrived at the pinnacle of his profession and was an inspector of a scholastic zone, at a salary of 150 pesos a month, which

in those days was the equivalent of moderate wealth.

Later General Calles said that the school teachers need have no fear of engaging in political activities. "The orders prohibiting you from mixing in politics," he explained, "should be interpreted as a warning against making use of your position to bring political pressure to bear upon those under you, but in no other way. The masters teach their pupils that they should exercise their political rights as citizens, and they are the first to fail to do so. This is the way to economic liberty for the teachers, who should not fear because of what the morrow may bring forth, and the way by which they make themselves heard and respected as the teachers in Sonora are. Go to political meetings. Vote and be voted for. Those who carry on the ordained and logical work of education should rise from the least place to the greatest even to the extreme limit of their resources."

PROGRAMME IS ESSENTIALLY CONSTRUCTIVE

GUARANTEES TO FOREIGN CAPITAL AND BETTERMENT OF THE CONDITIONS OF THE MEXICAN WORKER

(Statement to the press of Tampico, from El Democrata, Mexico City, April 22, 1924.)

"Endeavors are being made to cause me to appear as the representative of Bolshevism, as a representative of the destruction and ruin which makes communism hated. All this is untrue. My only aspiration is that the principles of the Revolution designed for the benefit of the working classes be placed into practice, for these people have suffered for many years. The middle class has already roused itself from its lethargy and has endorsed my candidacy."

Later General Calles said that Mexico required foreign capital for the development of its natural resources and that in order to attract this it was necessary to provide for it protection and full guarantees; that until the condition of the Mexican laborer was improved it was useless to try to encourage any considerable flow of foreign labor immigration to come to Mexico and that in order to attract agricultural colonists from abroad, better wages must first be paid to the native farm laborers.

AN ENEMY OF ANARCHY

DESIROUS OF THE BETTERMENT OF THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES THROUGH LEGAL METHODS—PROUD OF BEING SUPPORTED BY RURAL AND INDUSTRIAL LABORERS

(Address to the people of Tampico, from El Democrata, Mexico City, April 22, 1924.)

Later General Calles addressed the people of Tampico in general. He spoke concisely, emphatically and judicially. He requested that his audience remain silent for half a minute in memory of Governor Felipe Carrillo Puerto, of Yucatan, the victim of the reaction and of the criminal work of the former Minister of Hacienda.

General Calles then ratified his revolutionary convictions, as expressed in his manifesto to the people issued from the city of General Teran, with especial emphasis upon the phrases: "I also applaud with all my heart the fundamental principles of Articles 27 and 123 of the Constitution, and the agrarian policy of the Revolution, executed in a strictly legal manner, and especially the distribution or restitution of commons to the villages and hamlets which lack land or water for their service and their necessities."

He realized, he said, the great aspirations of the Mexican proletariat and their fervent desires for economic and social betterment, and which, despite the efforts of the reaction to cause it to appear so,

did not signify anarchy. He was quite content to be the leader of the Mexican workers and to be considered by them as the enemy of the reaction and of capital. In his campaign he bore only one banner, the red and black flag of labor. As always, the friends and partisans who were with him today were the same as those who have accompanied him since he resigned from the government to campaign for the Presidency. By sincere conviction, he was the friend of the worker.

PLEADING FOR THE EXTERMINATION OF THE TYRANNY SUFFERED BY THE PEOPLE

(Speech in Victoria, Tamaulipas, from El Democrata, Mexico City, April 29, 1924.)

I feel profoundly grateful for the evidence of sympathy which I have received from the people of this state. Since my arrival at Tampico it has been proved to me that the working people, the laboring classes of Tamaulipas, comprise the true vital nerve of the state, as they do of the entire nation. I have come here to reaffirm my desire, which I sincerely expressed at the beginning of my campaign, of fighting with the national proletariat, and this desire has been attained, for I have realized that they have responded to my call. I take pleasure in observing that the issue has been sharply defined, as I say now and as I have said all over the Republic, between the historically antagonistic groups—on one side the workers and the middle class, the producers of the country, headed by me, and on the other side the reaction.

Hence, as I say, my desires have been satisfied and with the enthusiastic aid of the laboring elements of the Republic I have succeeded in gaining my object in this contest, guided only by our principles, without reckoning whether this course has won or lost votes for me.

I do not wish to allow this opportunity to pass without justly congratulating the people of this state for their civic valor and for their manhood, for their refusal to tolerate tyranny. They have done well. The time has come for tyrants to disappear from

the face of the earth and for their names to exist only in the records of the past. The time has come, not only for the people of Mexico, but for the people of the world, to impose their powerful will and to conquer definitely their political liberties.

It worries the reaction to see that we are defending the interests of all the working people of Mexico, interests which have always been strangled by the selfishness of a parasitical minority. It worries the reaction because we demand a little happiness for these people who for centuries have been exploited under the lash of the powerful. The reaction worries because, guided by a sentiment of human equity, we ask a bit of ground for the rural workers to till in order to support life, when this land for which we ask was stolen from the forefathers of these field workers by the brutal force of conquest. It worries the reaction to see us fighting to obtain more human treatment for the workers and that, in their relations with capital, they be treated like men and not like beasts.

This is the epoch of the revindication of all human rights, and Mexico cannot remain indifferent to this progressive movement. For this reason I feel honored at being in this campaign, in raising this banner and placing myself at the front of the hosts of the workers and of the middle classes, flying the standard of a new civilization, the dawn of which we are witnessing.

In conclusion, I only wish to repeat here, as I have everywhere said, that I am absolutely certain that all the working people in the Republic, the producers, all who are exerting themselves to bring about the betterment of the majority, the industrial workers, the field workers, the middle class, the intellectual workers, whatever may be their circumstances, the time or the place—that they are with me, and I am with them.

PROGRAMME OF GOVERNMENT

(From El Democrata, Mexico City, May 2, 1924.)

The following are principal points of General Calles' programme of government:

1. To stimulate and encourage by all possible means the organization of the Mexican people so that they may direct their efforts, not alone toward political ends, but toward well defined objects of social betterment.

2. To comply strictly with, and to compel the rigid compliance with, Article 27 of the Constitution, to bring about the solution of the agrarian problem, considering it as an integral problem by itself, in which the principle of small land holdings is merely one of the indispensable factors of success; to organize the necessary systems of agricultural credit, to distribute water rights and establish rural cooperative organizations.

3. To bring about the immediate and just regulation of Article 123 of the Constitution and thereby provide for the workers the legal protection which they enjoy in the most progressive industrial countries, in order that they may play in the social and political life of the country the role to which they are entitled as an integral, and as the principal, factor in the production and in the wealth of Mexico.

4. To continue the cultural and educational programme for the benefit of the masses, preferably of the Indians, with the object of making all of the units in the population of Mexico useful to them-

selves, to their families and to the country and creating in them an exact comprehension of their duties.

5. To bring about the collective development of the middle and the sub-middle classes, placing them in touch with the proletariat, with whom they should share their struggles and the ambitions.

6. To bring about, through an ample and well planned system of communications, closer contact between all parts of the country and a more extensive commercial interchange of their products, as a necessary moral and material basis for the development of a nationalistic spirit.

7. To establish a purely nationalistic government, uncontrolled by small private cliques and without a spirit of sectarianism, guided in all cases by the ideals and the sentiments of the country as represented by the necessities of the majority and not by the interests of political parties.

8. To establish relations with all the countries of the world on a basis of mutual respect, equity and justice, without admitting that strong nations may impose their will upon the weak, in matters of domestic concern.

PROGRAMME HAS BEEN ADJUSTED TO THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE

(Speech in Morelia, from El Democrata, Mexico City, May 12, 1924.)

Before everything else, I desire to offer my sincere gratitude to the people of Michoacan for these manifestations of sympathy with which I have been greeted since I placed my foot on the soil of the state—manifestations of popular sentiment freely manifested, which demonstrates to me that I was not mistaken when, in commencing my political campaign, I launched my defiance to the reaction and, supported by the workers of Mexico, challenged the resentment of those who seek to continue to exploit them. The enthusiastic manner in which I have been greeted all over the country indicates to me that the programme raised by me as a banner when I began my political campaign is not merely the programme of Plutarco Elias Calles, but that it represents the aspirations of the people of my country.

What is offered in this programme? The revindication of the rights of the rural worker, of the Indian, of the element which has been exploited for so many centuries, the enslaved element which with its blood has attained its title to liberty and to which no rights had been before conceded, least of all the most sacred and inviolable of human possessions, the right to live. The Mexican field workers, who have watered the land with the sweat of their brow and who by their labor have produced food for all, now have the absolute assurance that

all of the revolutionists, with all of our energies, will utilize all of our strength, and, if necessary, sacrifice our ives, to comply with the agrarian programme which we have promulgated. The field workers may be absolutely certain that all of the villages in the Republic shall have their commons, by the cultivation of which they may gain their livelihood and their economic liberty. They may be absolutely certain that the group of revolutionists who began this crusade are complying with their duty and employing all of the necessary force and intelligence to liberate them from ignorance and fanaticism, the two yokes which their owners and masters would seek to keep upon their shoulders for the purpose of maintaining their inferiority in order the more easily to exploit them. The soul, the vital nerve of this country, is formed by the laboring classes, and the revolutionists have the imperative duty of raising the material and intellectual level of these classes, in order that a great, strong and respected country may be created. I am confident that the city workers, in the shops and factories will also fight to the end to compel the industrials who exploit them to recognize their rights. I am confident that the middle classes, who also are producers, will exert themselves to do away with the handicap placed upon them by the contempt of the upper classes and the lack of confidence of the lower classes, that they will take their place in the ranks, that they will organize and, rallying their forces, will conquer the social position which belongs to them and obtain the advantages which come with a reformed and properly organized social system. All workers, regardless of their condition or of the circumstances under which they appeal to us, may be confident that we are with them.

NOT A DISTURBER; FAVORS ORDER AND SOCIAL DISCIPLINE

(Speech in the Theatre Ocampo, Morelia)

I do not intend to make a formal speech. I am merely going to make a clear and simple exposition of my political principles, which I firmly believe to be those of the people of my country.

My political enemies, who are the capitalistic and conservative elements of my country, say that I am a disturbing element. That is not true. The speaker who preceeded me painted for us the true picture of the situation in which the Mexican proletariat at present finds itself. He spoke to us of the necessity of the working people of Mexico establishing their own factories and industries and the thousand processes of exploiting the natural riches of the country, in order to augment the collective welfare. Thus there will be given work and opportunity to our citizens, who no longer will then be compelled to seek employment abroad, to be exploited and buffeted about, far from their own country, by foreigners and, after untold sufferings, return to Mexico as poor and miserable as when they started out, bringing with them nothing but a fresh disillusion and minus the energies which they exhausted in a strange land.

It is true that we need foreign capital in Mexico, to revive our present industries and to found new ones. I am not an enemy of capital. To the con-

trary, I desire that it come here to exploit our natural resources, but we want humane capital, capital that is conscious of its mission in the modern world and which understands that it has not the feudal privilege of converting itself into the lord and master of its employees, but which is aware that it has a function to perform which, in the end, will not only be to the greater profit of the capitalist, but of collective benefit to the capitalist and to the worker alike.

Desirable Immigration

I desire to see capital come to Mexico which will join its interests with ours, which will abide with us, which will share our fortunes, which will bring us advantages, be a partner in our successes and our failures. Not the capital which comes merely to exploit us, our riches and our manhood without a moral check, the capital which a laborer in Tampico aptly referred to as conquering capital.

I wish to go on record here as saying that capital which comes to our country, inspired by the proper desires, may have an absolute assurance of finding the guarantees which it requires. But without exception it must be humane and it must subject itself to our laws.

My political enemies affirm that I am an enemy of foreigners and that my nationalism is of such a rabid nature that I do not want to see them in the country. This is another falsehood. I despise and detest the foreigner who comes here to meddle into our domestic affairs, to mix into our politics, to flout our laws and preserve the unfair advantages which have been conceded to him by reactionary governments, who invariably presumes upon his position as a foreigner and the influence which he is able to bring to bear upon his own government. On the

other hand, to the foreigner who comes to live with us, to share in our pleasures and our sufferings, to establish his home here and to root in the country his affections and his interests, our arms are open and we are ready to adopt him into brotherhood.

False that He Intends to Destroy Property Rights

The reaction rages and calls me a disturber because it says that I intend to destroy property rights in Mexico. This is also a falsehood.

What is it that I want? What are we fighting for?

We are struggling to obtain a trifle of economic welfare for the field workers, that they may have the common lands which were bestowed upon them after the Conquest and later taken from them, for the political independence of the local governments, that the field workers may obtain their economic independence, based upon political independence, that they may be able to live on a better scale, demand new necessities which will require them to work harder in order to gain them. Thus will real progress come to Mexico, and the position of the masses be improved. We want the worker to be in a position to educate his sons, so that they may do honor to him, so that the succeeding generations, being improved materially, will also be truly uplifted morally and intellectually. This is the only manner in which reality can be given to the supreme aspiration of the Mexican people and by which a happy and a prosperous country can be created.

Exploiters of Lands and of Men

But the great land-owners are indifferent to all this; they do not choose to understand that we are

in reality fighting for them and for their interests. Nevertheless, I want to say that the Revolution is determined, if the landowners will not listen to reason, to develop its agrarian programme by means of force. I say to the great land owners that they will profit by distributing lands to all the villages in the Republic, because then they themselves will be compelled to cultivate all of the land which remains to them, thereby converting themselves into true farmers under the spur of necessity. Thus they will become exploiters of land, instead of exploiters of men.

When the small farmer, economically independent upon his own bit of ground, ceases to become the peon who yields himself to the hacendado under the stress of hunger, and wages rise and laborers become scarce, it will be impossible for primitive agricultural methods which exploit the laborer to continue in use in Mexico, and the great land owner will be compelled to adopt modern technical methods, employ modern machinery, modern methods of cultivation, selecting seeds, etc. Thus we shall obtain the harmony which has always been so impressively lacking in agriculture in Mexico, for the relations between land owner and laborer will not be regulated by the traditional hatred of the owner for his slave, and the progressive farmer will find in the free worker a collaborator in the production of national wealth.

Respect to All Religions and Creeds

My enemies say that I am an enemy of religion and of divine worship, and that I have no respect for religious creeds. The fact is that I am a liberal of such ample spirit that my intellect inclines me to accept all creeds and to grant them justice, for I consider them good because of the moral programme

contained in them. I am an enemy of the priest caste which regards its position as a privileged one and not as an evangelical mission. I am an enemy of the priest politician, of the priest intriguer, of the priest exploiter, of the priest who seeks to keep our people in ignorance, of the priest who is allied with the hacendado to prey upon the laborer, of the priest who joins with the industrial proprietor to exploit the worker.

I declare that I respect all religions and all religious persons and believers, so long as their ministers do not flout our laws by meddling in our political contests, or serve as instruments to the powerful to exploit the weak.

Desires the Prosperity of Industries

Bitter complaints have been made that General Calles intends to put the industrial establishments of our country out of business. This is another falsehood. I want to see the industries flourish and develop. I only ask that the relations between the industrials and the workers be placed upon a more humane basis. I ask that the industrials reckon the worker as something a little less than a machine and a little more than a beast, that they cease to squeeze him dry and then throw him out and leave him to his fate, like refuse from a sugar mill after the last drop of juice has been crushed from it, or that, when he dies, it merely signifies one less name on the payroll and the tossing of his body aside, as a deag dog is pitched upon a dunghill.

And, how do we ask that this be brought about? Not through the anarchy of violent revindicatory movements, but according to law and social discipline, on a basis of legality. And has legislation of this sort never been heard of by the industrials of Mexico? I doubt that it has not, for to deny that it has is to insult their intelligence, when we remember that legislation of this nature already ex-

ists in other countries. What really happens is that they seek to ignore it. Foreigners coming to Mexico, from countries where these legal protections for the worker exist, after their arrival here find themselves contaminated by contact with our reactionary industrials and sacrifice their civilized instincts to the easy profits which come through exploitation of their fellow men.

We revolutionists, who have begun these battles in the name of the rights of the proletariat, have the inexorabe obligation of defending them and unless we do so we strip the Revolution of all justification and we become ourselves merely puppets.

International Policy

My enemies say that if I come to power I will isolate Mexico from the rest of the world and bring down upon her head universal hatred abroad, because of my disinclination or inability to establish friendly relations with other countries. This is another falsehood. We desire the most friendly and cordial relations with all the nations of the earth. What happens is that we belong to a political party which possesses sufficient manhood to declare that we desire these relations to be on a basis of justice, of honor. We do not desire to have foreign countries meddle with our internal affairs or to impose their will upon us or their methods in a manner to suit their own interests. We are a sovereign people and we have the right to settle our internal problems free of all exterior influence.

We desire that our relations with other countries be established on a basis of mutual respect, that strong nations do not impose their will upon the weak and that conflicts arising between peoples be decided exclusively according to principles of justice. These are our ideas, what may be called our programme. And as I said in the meeting this morning, I believe firmly that they are not alone my

ideas, the ideas of one man, but the profound desires of the masses of our country.

The People Have Their Rights, But Also Their Duties

The reactionaries know that in this campaign, perfectly conscious of our responsibilities, we are not seeking votes by flattery, and that when we preach to the people of their rights we also impress upon them what their duties are, the duties which the workers owe to themselves, their duties as producers, as men and as citizens.

This cannot be unknown to the reactionaries, for to all clases of workers we have preached of the obligations which rest upon them and with which they must comply in order to win the right to enjoy the benefits which the Revolution has brought to them. On the other hand, while the reactionaries believe that the indigenous races are a counterbalance between the whites and the mixed bloods, I am a lover of the Indian races and I have faith in them. They have been exploited and for 400 years have sought the economic liberty which comes with possession of the land. We will educate and elevate them to the dignity of full manhood, and then we shall see whether or not they are not the basis of a potent nationality. By this process, and by no other, it will be possible to form a nation, happy and respected by all the peoples of the earth.

HIS SOCIAL IDEALS

(Speech in La Piedad, from El Democrata, Mexico City, May 18, 1924.)

Since I first stepped foot upon this glorious and blessed soil of Michoacan, blessed by its riches and glorified by its sons, I have been receiving demonstrations organized in my honor, demonstrations which have pleased me greatly, because they have come principally from the workers and from the middle classes, the forces which since the beginning I have said were supporting me in this political campaign.

I judge it to be useless to make a new discourse upon this occasion, for I am sure that I covered all the points of my programme in my speech on Sunday at Morelia and clearly outlined the path which I shall follow if the people are good enough to elect me to be their President.

I desire that, in all the acts of life, the people take the role that rightfully belongs to them. I have requested General Alvarez to read the stenographic version of my Morelia speech and I desire that each of you who are here present considers the points of my programme and make such observations upon them as he may deem pertinent. If you find any point obscure, please say so and I will personally explain it. Also, if there happens to be present any of my political opponents, I shall be glad to debate the issues of the campaign with him.

EULOGY OF THE YOUTH OF THE REVOLUTION

(Speech in Queretaro)

It is a matter of pride, and one which encourages me to continue the fight with fresh energy, that my candidacy is supported by the working classes, the workers in the shops and factories, the agricultural workers and the workers of the middle classes, who have joined with the proletariat. I am especially glad of the support of the middle classes, not only because the elements which compose it are those whose spirit has been tempered by labor and by misery, but because the great majority of them have been preserved uncontaminated and are not yet corrupted politically. For this reason they are in a position to lend their great force to the work of social redemption which we are carrying on.

I am never tired of repeating, as I have said in many meetings, that day by day I am more satisfied with having, at the opening of my campaign, outlined the rival fields of action in this contest by declaring in Monterey that my great aim, my great desire, was that the reaction should be my irreconcilable enemy in this fight, for I desired only to be supported by the producing elements of my country, industrial workers, field laborers and the middle classes. It is only honorable for me to say now, since my campaign has developed into more of a social than a political movement, and with all frankness, that I do not wish to deceive those gentlemen who feel that their interests are not properly ap-

preciated and that they are being attacked by me. I wish them to know how I regard and welcome their opposition.

I believe that the field workers of Queretaro, here present, wish to hear from my lips the ratification of my agrarian programme, which I have so many times outlined in other places. I am certain that those who are listening to me will bear to their absent comrades in the villages and ranches the assurance that if I triumph the agrarian problem will be solved and that the people shall have the land which they require to satisfy their requirements and to provide for the welfare of themselves and their families.

The Reaction Judged

With respect to the factory workers, they are now sufficiently familiar with my programme and they know that, by reason of my defense of their interests, I have gained the reputation of being a disturber, which is the title with which the reactionaries have adorned my name. They also may be absolutely certain that I shall always contend for their economic betterment and the material and moral elevation of their homes and their families. It gives me great satisfaction to see here this compact group of women workers, who provide so many demonstrations of enthusiasm. They are right in throwing themselves into the campaign. They understand that we are fighting for their interests, to better the conditions of the heads of their households and to impress upon the workmen, if it is necessary, that the benefits which we obtain for them they should in turn learn to conquer for their wives and for their children.

It also affords me great satisfaction to see here this group of young students who understand that, because of their youth and the position they occupy, they are the beneficiaries of part of the work which

we are undertaking. Youth, always generous and noble, without the selfishness which mature years bring, without the prejudices of the elderly, must orient itself according to the new ideals, in order tomorrow to direct, with its talent and its force, the great labor movement.

The Nerve of the Nation

I always have had, and still have, faith in the working classes, because I have always believed that they are the nerve of the nation and that only through them and their action it is possible for us to hope for the betterment of Mexico, inasmuch as it is they who are directly interested in bringing it about. For this reason, when I began my campaign and understood that the Revolution, through the fortunes of politics, had placed in my hands, not the standard of a presidential campaign with no other end to be sought than that of rising to power, but the sacred banner of a programme of social reforms, I desired no allies other than these working classes, who firmly understand that they are the units of action and solidity in this country and the units in whom we can rest our hopes of building a strong, a happy country.

PRINCIPLES OF HIS PROGRAMME ARE THOSE OF THE REVOLUTION

(Speech at Colima, from El Democrata, Mexico City, May 24, 1924.)

Personal vanity has not blinded me sufficiently to the point of believing in my programme merely because it is mine, but I have faith in it because it is fully apparent that by this time the Mexican people have placed in my hands the banner of the revolution which, aided by the enthusiasm and good will of the same people, I am triumphantly bearing throughout all the Republic.

It is because of this programme that I am called a destroyer and efforts are being made to frighten the country by saying that my campaign is disturbing and will produce tragical results. But what better reply could be made to those who thus defame me than is supplied by the fact that in my campaign the great masses of the citizenry of the Republic, all elements of the middle and the working classes, both of the town and of the country, turn out to manifest their adhesion to this programme, precisely for the reason that it is their programme, because it is constructive, because it contains the sum of their desires for the just reform of an archaic society, because the programme is the programme of a new country! What better reply could be provided to these critics who, because their aristocratic and subservient spirits recoil before demonstrations which are truly democratic, say that my

campaign is merely a series of mob gatherings, than by the presence here of numerous beautiful women of Colima, who form its chief ornament! The women do well to interest themselves in public questions because they constitute half of the population of Mexico and because by the aid of the wives and mothers we shall be able more quickly to improve and transform the country.

TOAST AT A BANQUET TO SAMUEL GOMPERS, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

HIS ELECTION TO THE PRESIDENCY OF MEXICO DUE TO THE SUPPORT OF THE WORKING CLASSES FOR WHOSE INTERESTS HE HAD ALWAYS FOUGHT

(From El Democrata, Mexico City, August 9, 1924.)

General Calles declared that the opportunity of greeting the Executive Council of the Federation was one of the greatest satisfactions he had experienced in his life as a protagonist of labor. He added that he had been elected as a candidate of the Labor Party, that he never would be a traitor to the cause, that his government would be eminently constructive and that he would endeavor to shape all of his official acts to the betterment of the condition of the oppressed. He said:

"I have been elected President of Mexico by the free will of the workers. When I began my campaign I expressed clearly, without ambiguity, my desire to receive the support only of the laboring classes and that I invited the reactionaries to be against me. I pointed out that on one side we had the programme for the revindication of the workers and on the other the retrograde programme of the reactionaries. I triumphed because of the good will of the workers. I owe my government to them and I shall receive their support so long as I comply with my obligations. The working classes of Mexico expect that their government will do this and they

will give their aid to those who guard the interests of the Mexican people.

"It is highly satisfactory to me to see that the working classes of Mexico and their leaders are in contact with the workers of the United States. The President of the American Federation of Labor occupies a warm spot in the hearts of the Mexican workers. This visit affords me the opportunity of embracing Mr. Gompers fraternally and of saluting his colleagues. It is a very agreeable visit. It fills me with satisfaction and I shall go away bearing in my soul great hope, because I know that with the workers of the United States united with those of Mexico it will be very difficult for the forces of capital, whether of this country or of any other, to enslave and oppress my people."

When President Calles finished, Mr. Gompers said to him:

"You are an excellent, honorable and a talented man. You are in every way a man."

SPEECH TO THE BURGOMASTER AND SENATE OF HAMBURG, GERMANY, CONFIRMING THE TRADITIONAL CORDIALITY WHICH UNITES GERMANY AND MEXICO

(From El Democrata, August 21, 1924.)

In his speech to the Burgomaster and the Senate of Hamburg, General Calles confirmed the traditional friendship and cordiality which had existed, he said, between Germany and Mexico since the declaration of Mexican independence and as a consequence of the continuous commercial and cultural exchange between the two countries. He said that Mexico was disposed to offer the same cordiality to all nations so long as they respected Mexico's sovereignty and independence. Commercial relations are based upon the principle of the most favored nation. The same principle extends to human and moral values. These values are very essential and they supply the pillars upon which depends the resolution of all domestic and international problems. These values would always dictate Mexico's political and social orientation. It is to be hoped that they shall always be the basis of our international relations, to the end that the principle of reciprocity between Germany and Mexico shall assume a live and effective form.

REPLIES TO QUERIES SUBMITTED BY THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

(From El Democrata, Mexico City, September 22, 1924.)

Unquestionably, I am anxious to see normal diplomatic and other relations between Mexico and Great Britain restored. However, it has not been because of the desire of our government that these relations have not been normal. I do not know what my action in this connection shall be when I become President, although I should like to see the matter arranged before I take my seat.

In general, the relations between labor and capital in Mexico are the same as those which exist in other countries. In the case of business or industrial enterprises or capitalistic interests which are reluctant to accord labor and laborers the importance which they really represent, the relations between the two elements cannot be as cordial as is desirable. But it is becoming to be better understood in Mexico that the only road for capital to follow is to accept the legal conditions established for the protection of labor. These conditions are not more radical nor advanced than those which prevail in the United States, Germany, France or Belgium.

Of course, strikes and other disturbances consequent upon economic life anywhere are liable to occur in Mexico. These are phenomena which, when it is necessary to create them, cannot be conjured by statements in the newspapers. The eight-hour day has been established by law in Mexico. Other laws for the protection of labor are now in force

and more of the same kind will be introduced in the Congress by the progressive political parties.

Naturally, the resumption of diplomatic relations between Mexico and England will notably stimulate commercial exchange. I cannot tell you with any degree of accuracy what particular products of the United States or Europe are required in Mexico, but I am of the opinion that, as a result of the progressive natural development of the necessities of the Mexican people, this demand for foreign products will be greatly intensified within the next five years, and especially because of the expectation that the country is about to enter into a new era of prosperity. I cannot tell you to what extent the Mexican market for Manchester cottons is liable to increase. There is no branch of commerce or industry which is not capable of great development in Mexico, if it is pushed energetically and in accordance with our laws, for the competition from the United States may easily be met.

Yes, it is our intention to encourage railroad building and other developments along engineering lines and in some parts of the country there is already considerable activity in this direction. To cite only a single instance, the new branch of the Southern Pacific Railway along the west coast, which will unite the central states of the Republic with those to the north as far as Sonora, is now nearly completed.

We had hoped to balance our budget this year and that was the understanding with the Congress. Unfortunately the seditious movement of last December prevented, but President Obregon is earnestly and successfully striving to re-establish the financial equilibrium. All of the reforms necessary in the management of the finances of Mexico have already been provided for, but I believe that the important thing is not merely to pass laws and lay down regu-

lations to this end, but to see that these laws and the regulations are enforced.

I am confident that Mexico has now entered into a period of political tranquility which will permit the peaceful development of its programme of social reforms. But whether or not we have political calm, it is an indisputable fact that the reaction, as represented in the methods and tendencies of social retrogression, played its last card in the rebellion headed by de la Huerta and that there remains no hope that it can even win a political triumph.

RESPONSE TO THE WELCOME EXTENDED GENERAL CALLES BY THE MAYOR OF PARIS

(From El Democrata, Mexico City, October 12, 1924.)

It is with profound appreciation that I acknowledge this delicate manifestation of sympathy and appreciation which the authorities of Paris have been good enough to render to Mexico, through my humble personality. It is a pleasure to comply with my duty of acknowledging with all warmth, both for the Mexican people as well as for myself, our most profound recognition of the noble and considerate manner in which your worthy Mayor has characterized the soul of my country and the strong ties of race and of mentality which unite our two countries. I am sure that these manifestations, as strong as they are spontaneous, indicate emphatically one more evidence of the aspirations to world fraternity which have always been held in common by France and Mexico.

Upon rendering homage a few days ago at the Arc de Triumph to all the virtues, to all the sorrows and to the glorious national hymns of our countries, my emotion was intensified when I remembered that there in Mexico the downtrodden and oppressed, those who are hungering and thirsting for justice, crystalize their hopes for redemption in the chanting of the Marseillaise.

Mexico fully appreciates and responds with all its heart to the generous references made to our Presi-

dent, General Obregon. For my part, and as an enemy of formulas, of prejudices and of euphemisms, I say with pride that General Obregon is a heavy creditor upon the respect and gratitude of the people of Mexico and of all the working classes of that country, for no one so much as he has so sincerely and prodigally concentrated his forces, his intelligence and his life efforts to the economic, social, moral and intellectual improvement of his people and to the formation of a real country in which peace and liberty are harmonized on a basis of humanitarianism and much-to-be-desired social reorganization. My philosophy is that of work, my standard that of justice and my ambition equality of opportunity in progress and human happiness. In this belief, I have always opposed and I always shall, all privileges, all oligarchies and all exploitations. My programme is the programme of your Jaures—to make the Republic a political and social organization wherein the soveignty of the people shall be effective and practical, not alone in politics, but also, and fundamentally, in the economic order.

I am very grateful, gentlemen, for the encouraging words with which you have favored me. They reflect the proverbial courtesy of the people of France, for I am the first to recognize that I possess no other merit than that I always have followed without doubts or vacillations the dictates of my own conscience, of honor and of moraliy.

Agreeable reference has been made to our past dfferences. The nobility of this gesture compels my country, Mexico, to recognize on its part its complete conviction that it was not the people of France, but the imperialistic plutocracy of the epoch which made the war. For this reason in memory of the contest there has been reared in Puebla, over the ashes of combatants of both sides, a simple monu-

ment upon which appear the figures of a soldier of France and a soldier of Mexico clasping hands in a sincere and magnificent gesture of amity, under the aegis of the Angel of Peace. Let it be hoped that on all fields of battle and in the consciences of all peoples who have fought among themselves there may arise a similar monument, serene, majestic and eternal.

REMARKS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AT HIS INAUGURATION AS PRESIDENT

(From El Democrata, December 2, 1924.)

Mexico being fundamentally a country of working people, slightly tinctured with a minimum of fortunate citizens who are able to procure for themselves the benefits of culture and of comfortable living, it is encumbent upon our governments to devote all of their spirit and energy to the betterment of the condition of the unfortunate classes, to the bringing about of a solidarity among them, to elevate the mentality of the backward and to establish the permanently improved welfare of the oppressed. This work should not be a work of destruction, nor should it subvert the tranquility or the interests of nationals or foreigners. Before everything else, we desire to revindicate the purest principles of the ethics of humanitarianism, to sustain the most clear postulates of the universal welfare, to dream of and fight for a possible state of well being in which education shall be a gift to the minds of all and wherein the national wealth and civic rights shall have a common participation. A programme of this nature can honestly meet with nothing but general commendation, for the reason that all men may participate in its benefits and because Mexico will be more esteemed and respected when all its population is composed of a more harmonious

and homogeneous unity than it is at present. In a word, we are seeking to make Mexico a better country and this cannot be brought about unless a formidable effort is made in favor of the great popular masses.

IDEAS UPON EDUCATION

(From the Bulletin of the Department of Education, January, 1925.)

The fundamental supports for the improvement of the masses of my country, including Indians, consist in their economic liberation and in their educational development to a point where their full incorporaion into civilized life will be possible. The land problem, resolved in the form which I have before pointed out, which will augment agricultural production and bring about the economic emancipation of the rural worker; the education of the rural population and the consolidation of the rights and the legal protection of the workers in the cities and the industrial centers shall be the preferential objects of my administration, to be developed upon a basis of equity and justice for all classes of society.

The problem of rural education will be the first to occupy my attention. Special systems in this respect are being considered and studied by the Minister of Public Education, but the general outline of this work may immediately be given. It will consist not alone in combating illiteracy, but in bringing about the development of a spirit of harmony among our field workers and Indians through which, as I said before, this great section of the population may be completely incorporated into the ranks of civilization. In a word, it will be our mission to extend the rural schools to the fullest degree possible according to our economic possibilities.

INTERVIEW IN THE NEW YORK *TIMES*, JUSTIFYING THE ACTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION, ACCORDING TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE CONSTITUTION

(From El Democrata, Mexico City, February 7, 1926.)

The law regulating Fraction I of Article 27 of the Constitution, which has improperly been called the law relating to foreigners, and the law emanating from the same article, referring to the petroleum industry, are not yet completed, because there are still lacking the Presidential regulations of the laws to be enacted by Congress, to fix the scope and the methods of applying the principles or provisions contained in these laws. For this reason, it must be judged that the position assumed by the Government of the United States, in the sense that these laws are retroactive and confiscatory, are based upon an incomplete legal comprehension of the situation. It is believed, naturally, that the interests which can be considered as liable to be affected by these laws may have influenced the origin of the present diplomatic *status quo* between Mexico and the United States.

With respect to the query as to whether it is the intention of the Mexican Government to enforce a strict compliance with these laws, it may be said that, according to every viewpoint, it would be unjust and immoral, in Mexico or any other country, to enact laws and not enforce them or to apply them unequally, according to the nationality of the persons or companies affected by them.

The diplomatic relations between Mexico and the United States, like those which exist or which may exist between Mexico and any other friendly country, strongly preoccupy a government that is disposed to maintain the best harmony with the governments with which it cultivates amicable relations. It is not possible to judge how true or serious are the rumors you mention—that the enaction of laws disapproved by the United States will lead to a rupture of diplomatic relations—but such rumors cannot affect Mexico's attitude of enacting laws in accordance with Constitutional requirements, in the exercise of its undoubted sovereign right and within the practice, or even the limits, of international law.

In my declarations while I was a candidate for President and also in New York, when I was a guest in that city, as President-elect, I stated clearly that the policies of my government would be for the benefit of the masses of my country, without ignoring the rights of the legitimate interests of any social class. To pretend that in Mexico we are following exotic methods of government, or methods and doctrines which are not sanctioned by our Constitution, is simply ridiculous.

The Constitution of 1917 clearly establishes our system of government, and not a single instance can be pointed out wherein this government has departed from Constitutional lines I insist that through sentiments of elemental justice and because of the imperious social and economic necessities of our country, the fundamental tendency of this government is to accomplish the liberation of the masses and the development and the prosperity of the people as a whole, without by this attitude implying any ignoring of the rights of the privileged classes or any attack upon them.

Yes, various departments of the government

have been informed of the activities of so-called revolutionists in San Antonio. So far as the investigations which have been made by the American authorities are concerned, that is a matter within their jurisdiction with which we have nothing to do.

The petroleum companies have manifested to the Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor their intention of cooperating with the department in the regulatoin of the petroleum law. This government expects good results from this cooperation, which was solicited by the President in the hope of finding the best form of harmonizing the legitimate interests of the companies and those of the country.

No, the Mexican Government has not had nor has it solicited the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in the formulation of any law. The friendly attitude of the Federation toward Mexico has been due to the tendencies and procedures of this government in furthering social reforms which are approved of by the Federation, but this attitude does not signify that the Federation has sought to exercise any legal or political influence in our country.

If the laws which we are discussing are enacted and if they are not respected by those to whom they apply, the resulting proceedings will not differ from those which any country would adopt to cause its laws to be obeyed.

So far as the attitude of the American press goes, one part of it is friendly and the other is antagonistic. I presume that the antagonism is due in great part to a lack of information as to what is the real situation here which creates the necessity for the laws which we are discussing in this interview. The Mexican government has adjusted all of its acts according to the provisions and requirements of the Mexican laws. One supposes that the statements printed in some of the United States

newspapers, that persons have been executed here without due process of law, have been made for the purpose of augmenting the antagonism toward Mexico.

On the subject of labor strikes, I will say that the laws of Mexico establish the right of striking, and define the conditions under which these labor movements may be described as legal or illegal. According as these laws provide, the government approves or disapproves of these strikes. The attitude of the government is based upon a study of each concrete case and is not dictated by any general or blanket policy. There is no substantial difference in this respect between the procedure which is followed in Mexico and that which is generally adopted in other countries in order to settle similar problems.

Naturally, the personal sentiments of the President of Mexico are in favor of the people of the United States. I have nothing to say concerning the present attitude of the Department of State with respect to Mexico. That, I believe, is the sole concern of the American people or of their representative organs.

No, it is not true that, as you say has been stated in the United States, the Mexican press is controlled by the government. Our press enjoys as much liberty, I believe, as the press of the United States. Probably the editors of the Mexican newspapers can answer this question better than I can.

PROGRAMME OF RECONSTRUCTION

(Speech before the people of Nuevo Leon, from El Democrata, Mexico City, Feruary 18, 1926.)

I took advantage of the New Year to emerge from my customary official silence and to send out a call to all the vital forces of the country to forget old grudges and unite to cement our national solidarity upon the basis of prosperity and the general welfare. It appears that this has been done here. I very sincerely congratulate the sons of Nuevo Leon, because I am certain that they have developed this work, not alone for the happiness of the state, but for the future benefit of the entire country.

I had already formed a high opinion of this state and this judgment is now ratified. I am absolutely certain that if the other states should do as Nuevo Leon has done, and join together with the same energy and with the same idealism, we can make Mexico a great country. Monterrey was the first city in which I began my political campaign. At that time, the comments were various and perhaps the majority of the people considered me an extreme radical, and I have desired in the conduct of my government to demonstrate effectively that I am a radical. I am a reformer, but upon a basis entirely just and reconstructive. I have desired that the actual system of government of our country suffer a complete transformation for the general welfare, because it is not

possible to bring about the peace, happiness and prosperity of Mexico under the handicap of twelve millions of disinherited and disfranchised people. The government of Mexico has studied this problem profoundly, it has laid down a firm programme and I have always believed that the first step in the direction of bringing about our welfare consists in establishing our economic independence upon the basis of our own resources, because it is impossible to conceive a free people, and especially a politically emancipated people, when they are enslaved economically.

For this reason, the government has constituted measures which will tend to make this liberty effective. I am sure that we are inherently a rich people and that we have sufficient resources within ourselves to bring this about, but it is not possible for the central government to do this by itself. It must have the cooperation of the local governments, through the medium of a labor of moralization, a labor in which will be found the fundamentals of the happiness which we seek. The time has come for the disappearance of the administrations which are organized solely for the personal benefit of the men who compose them, and it is absolutely necessary to clean house, to place rascals where they belong and honorable men in their place. The old mixture of rascals and honest men in government is no longer possible. This is one of the matters which has preoccupied the central government—to clean its own house, to do justice to honest men.

Now is the time to choke off the rascals who are sucking the financial life blood of the people without resultant benefit to the country. I am not unaware of the obstacles and the difficulties which stand in the way of this accomplishment.

But as a resolute man and a man who is accustomed to fighting, I am trying to carry out this programme and day by day we are succeeding. I am figuring with every expectation that within a very few years we shall succeed in forcing the public administration in Mexico to comply with its duty and to be an administration of exemplary qualities. The results of this labor are already being felt. The economic elements of the Republic are functioning with absolute security and efficiency. The Bank of Mexico represents not a single obligation contracted outside of Mexico, and there is not a single cent invested in the business of which we need be ashamed. All this is yours. It belongs to you Mexicans. This work of reform has placed the government in a position whereby, within a short time, it will be able to establish the Agricultural Bank, an indispensable factor for the development of agriculture, which is the basis of our principal national wealth. In this Bank, as in the other, the entire capital belongs to the nation. Not a cent of it is foreign money. It belongs to you. The Agricultural Bank was established in 1926).

It has always been the conviction of the government, after a careful and minute investigation, that at the present time commerce and industry require its protection, for the development of both. But agriculture, as the principal source of the country's wealth, requires our attention first. We possess great quantities of land, but we cannot place them easily or profitably into production because of lack of irrigation works. I have dedicated myself to a personal study of this problem, with every enthusiasm and interest, for I am convinced that upon its solution depends the welfare of the country. The budget of this

year assigns from fifteen to twenty millions of pesos to irrigation works, without borrowing from the Bank of Mexico and leaving intact the funds appropriated for the Agricultural Bank, and without failing to meet our foreign and domestic debt service.

It pleases me to be able to state that this is not my work, but the work of the entire nation, by virtue of which we shall succeed in obtaining the happiness which we desire.

But permit me to go back a little. It is necessary not to lose sight of the fact that there is in our country a class which deserves our attention and which is worthy of being elevated morally and socially, and that is the Indian. How is it possible for us, if we are good Mexicans, to abandon the Indian to his misery, to his ignorance? The government has been deeply concerned by this problem and has instituted energetic efforts for its solution.. There are now in operation three thousand rural schools, supported by the government. These are the founts to which the Indian resorts to quench his thirst with that which is necessary in order to bring about his incorporation into civilization — education. But we must not fix our attention on this point alone. Before we educate him we must provide for his physical necessities, procure for him the means of living.

The handling of the agrarian problem has been more bitterly criticized and fought than that of any other, and I will not say that there have not been in some cases just motives for these criticisms, because at times the functionaries charged with putting this reform into effect have, through excess of zeal, exceeded their authority, while

others have been prostituted by outside influences and have disregarded the laws in other ways.

Without losing its faith in the benefits for which it hopes, the government has sought to correct and is correcting the defects implanted by this law. This is not so much of a problem in the state of Nuevo Leon and in other border states as it is in the central and southern states, where the indigenous class is enormous, where they constitute a grave problem which, if it is not settled once for all, will perpetually disturb the country. For the necessities of these people cannot be silenced by force, but only by satisfying them properly. If we leave the field laborers to their fate they are lost, for the paucity of their individual resources do not permit them to accumulate savings or to help themselves. It is, then, the duty of the country, represented by the government, to extend to this class the aid of which they are so sorely in need, and you may depend upon it that this is being done by the government to the extent that its financial resources permit.

The government, conscious of this situation and of the responsibility which rests upon it, has divided the problem into two parts: One of education and of preparation, to check excesses and inordinate demands, impossible of being complied with; and the other economical, which the government is not in a position to develop simultaneously throughout the country, because of lack of money. Consequently, this year the field workers in four states will receive the benefit of this work, and also in this year four Mortgage and Loan Banks will commence to function to relieve the most needy of the rural classes.

To provide an exposition of each and all of the problems which confront the government would

be very long and very tiresome. I merely want you to know that the government is exerting itself with all of its power to cement solidly our nationalism. I am positive that if the government could count, as it does in Nuevo Leon, with the cooperation of all the citizens it would require only a very short time for us to accomplish everything for which we are aiming, and for Mexico to take the place which it should among the nations of this continent.

CALLING UPON ALL PATRIOTIC MEXICANS TO WORK FOR THE PROSPERITY OF THE COUNTRY

(Speech before the Chamber of Deputies of Nuevo Leon, from El Excelsior, Mexico City, February 26, 1924.)

It is a signal and very great honor for me to receive from this body the title of Son of Nuevo Leon. This designation compels me to assume new obligations and new responsibilities in order that I may do credit to it, for I consider that it is encumbent upon me to exert myself to comply with the sacred duties which it imposes upon me.

The work which I have thus far accomplished is weak and does not correspond to my greatest desires, for the country is in a formative state, and there are in it those who would reshape and modify everything and who yet dream of the hour of commencing this arduous task to which we are already day by day dedicating ourselves. The work to which I refer is complicated and extremely varied. It concerns all of our social orders, from the state of our economic problems to the transformation of the popular classes in the effort to elevate them.

This is a labor in which we are all obligated to serve and to cooperate, even these classes which consider themselves superior and which live apart from the proletariat but who should, on the contrary, work with them. There are in the Mexi-

can family divisions composed of hybrids. It is desirable that these should disappear, for one of my constant endeavors is to devise every measure of forming a union of all the Mexicans.

Unfortunately, there is much selfishness to overcome. There are interests which oppose this work of unification because they fear that they will lose by it. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the bringing of a little happiness into the lives of the lowly will not detract from the happiness of those who are on top. One of the conditions necessary for sweeping away the differences of which we speak is that our people be educated, that they be placed in a position to stand on their own feet. In this work the effective cooperation of the State governments is necessary.

It is the desire of this government to raise to this distinction even the lowest of our classes and I repeat that in order to effect this the state governments must cooperate. But unfortunately there are in some states governors who not only do not aid in the national reconstruction or in the instruction of these classes, but who have actively opposed everything that the central government was doing, to the extent, for example, that in one state, where the federal government opened a hundred and fifty rural schools, the local government closed as many as the central government was sustaining.

In Nuevo Leon this situation is disappearing. It has been very agreeable to me to visit a state and find an honorable government. I hope that the state powers, for the welfare of the community which they govern, will not depart from the harmony which should exist between them, without personal ambitions, without perverse egotism, for it is only thereby that they can comply with their

duty to the state, which it so well deserves, for a state wherein all of its sons are working and where there is so much spontaneous enterprise, should not have a bad government inflicted upon it.

On another occasion — I refer to the banquet with which I was honored by the citizens of Monterey — I gave ample expression to the administrative and financial reforms which the government has been putting into practice, and stated that the government had no interest other than to assist the country in depending upon itself, and not upon outside help. It is a reproach to us to expect everything to come to us from abroad. We have always been thinking too much of what and how foreign companies could be organized for the purpose of coming here to exploit our riches. What I am trying to do is to demonstrate that the country possesses the necessary resources to sustain itself and to develop itself, and I hope that I shall be able to realize this, but it is necessary that the responsibility for this great work shall not be left entirely to the federal government. We must have confidence that from now on we shall have honorable governments and I believe, gentlemen, that remarkable talent is not required for this, but merely good faith, good will and honesty. I believe that we need nothing more to bring about the accomplishment of our desires, and I have full confidence, a fanatical faith, that Mexico is a country sufficiently rich to make all of its sons happy, and not alone them, but to enable the Mexicans to open their arms in welcome to their brothers in other countries.

Ample opportunities are offered here for foreigners. They may come with the absolute assurance that they will find here every facility to

develop among us constructive works, providing they do not come merely to exploit us, to take away our wealth without leaving anything in return for it, but with the intention of abiding by our laws and respecting them and our institutions; in a word, to live among us and become one of us.

Unfortunately, to the present this has not happened, for the foreign capitalist has not come to Mexico to develop it, but to exploit it, to take everything, but to give nothing, not even their culture. The Mexicans should realize that this is their land and that it is the duty of the government and all of the sons of the country to safeguard their possessions. It is vital that everyone should realize that peoples who lose control of their resources and of their territory also lose their nationality. Unfortunately, I say, we have always waited for foreigners to come and do what we should do for ourselves, but the time has arrived for us to realize that this is a mistake and that from now on we must hang on to what is ours. I omit further reference to this point, for I am certain that you will understand my meaning and I believe that in the future the people of Mexico will guard their own with much more zeal than they have in the past.

REPLYING TO AN ADDRESS OF THE MINISTER OF GUATEMALA

(From El Excelsior, Mexico City, March 13, 1926.)

I have listened with great interest, Mr. Minister, to your discourse, so replete with ideas which betoken new developments in the lives of the peoples. I appreciate sincerely the pleasant references you have made to the people of my country and the just eulogies directed to my colleagues, as well as the encouraging comments uttered upon my humble personality which, if they are merited, is for no other reason than that I have sought to comply with my duty as a good Mexican.

Speaking of the relations between peoples, you have expressed a most lively desire that the past shall be liquidated, and I can assure you that this ambition burns in the minds and the souls of the new generation of Mexicans, and also of the heads of the government of this country, coupled with an aspiration that there shall be brought about in Mexico a profound social transformation, a social transformation which will tend to the general betterment, which will bring new orientations to the life of the nation, which will make the people happier, which will annihilate the old system of privileges in order to construct a new country along proper lines, to the end of raising up a citizenry with strong, virile souls, who will appreciate the role which they should play in the affairs of this continent.

It cannot have escaped the penetration of such a keen observer as yourself, that to carry on the struggles undertaken by the new generation of Mexicans it has been necessary to combat all of the insidious forces working from without the country as well as the opposition proceeding from within Mexico. But this is logical. These are the pains, the sufferings, the misfortunes which must be coped with by all peoples who seek to uplift themselves, and we shall gladly support these trials if, through bearing them, we shall be able to spare our brothers their weight.

While there have been peoples in the world who have fought for the supremacy of material interests, ignoring the spiritual and moral values, the fact remains that the relations which should exist between peoples must not be allowed to become a pretense. Mexico is fighting to obtain its economic independence, to constitute an economical organism which will not alone permit her to be happy, but which, if possible, shall add to the happiness of the other countries upon this continent. Mexico is fighting against being enslaved by those who do not share these liberal ideas, to form a free people who may enjoy their sovereignty to the fullest extent and who will know how to defend it.

You may be sure, Mr. Minister, that these ideas provide inspiration for the friendly relations, better said, the brotherhood, between Guatemala and Mexico. It is necessary to realize that the vital hour in the destinies of the peoples has now sounded, that these ideas do not consist merely of beautiful words, but that they are realities. Mexico is inclined to bring these ideas to the aid of her sister nations of the continent, but in a spirit of sincere cooperation, not with the object

of exploiting them for her selfish purposes, for that would be paltry and shameful, not only for those peoples, but for Mexico herself.

You may present, Mr. Minister, to the first Magistrate of your country, the assurance that Guatemala will always find in Mexico a brother of the heart and that, even if there be an imaginary line separating the two countries, regardless of this we find ourselves united by ties of race and by common ideals. I offer my best wishes for the personal happiness of President Orellana and for the prosperity and aggrandizement of the people of Guatemala.

ADDRESS UPON RECEIVING THE CREDENTIALS OF THE FIRST AMBASSADOR FROM GUATEMALA TO MEXICO

(From El Excelsior, Mexico City, April 25, 1926.)

This reception of you as the first Ambassador from Guatemala to Mexico is one of the most grateful acts of the international transactions of my government, of the acts which most vitally and intimately touch the hearts of the people, for it proceeds from the people themselves, being, as it is, a spontaneous demonstration of fraternity from the Mexican nation and because it disdains the intricate maneouvres of interests which arbitrarily and with furtive arts manipulate the relations of states and, in a frank and resolute gesture with outstretched hand, advances to meet those whose blood is our blood, whose thought is common with our ideals, who rejoice at our triumphs and mourn over our sorrows, who encourage us in our struggles, who with us constitute a friendly household among those who comprise the great original family of America.

In Mexico we thoroughly understand, Mr. Ambassador, that among the traditions which sustained the old diplomacy — now so far removed from the true sentiments of the peoples — and which today is happily a thing of the past, was the abyss of carefully cultivated mutual distrust and prejudice. But the new humanity, disgusted

and weary of the feudal systems of thought, seeks for and demands affirmation in positive acts of the attainment of its desires and, amid the crash of the falling ruins of the old order, will firmly press for the fulfillment of its desires, its clearly defined programme of fraternity, which cannot be sustained upon any other basis than that provided by an equality of rights for all the countries of the world, for all the men of the earth.

The clear and simple principle which governs the international policy of Mexico is apparent to all — to respect the rights and the liberties of every nation, to insist zealously that every nation respects the rights and liberties of Mexico. In a word, equality is the only road which will lead the peoples to the yet inaccessable ideal of universal love.

For all these reasons, the elevation of our respective diplomatic missions to the highest rank affords us great satisfaction. Far from merely signifying a simple ceremonial act, a trifling manifestation of pomp and vanity, it is a categorical affirmation of a cordial rapprochement which, through bad fortune, has been needlessly retarded. Your Excellency is right in affirming that the revolutionary achievements of this new Mexico which has arisen from its convulsions purified and confident, impress now upon its diplomatic activities an aspect more consonant with the times. Necessarily, this method must be far removed from the useless and wordy policy of the past, in order to transform human acts to accord with current ideas.

Your Excellency will find that my government will cooperate with you loyally and decidedly in the work which has been confided to your clear intelligence and prolific energy, without any sel-

fish thoughts of obtaining advantages, repete with a sincere desire to establish in Mexico and Guatemala — and even in those other territories which, with your country, supply a radiant hope for a Central America, one and indivisable — a definite order which will lead our peoples along paths of imperishable greatness and prosperity.

Oblige us, Mr. Ambassador, by being the messenger of these good tidings and accept the expression of my warmest sentiments for the happiness of Guatemala and for the personal welfare of President Orellana and his worthy representative in Mexico.

THE REGENERATION OF THE PEOPLE THROUGH EDUCATION

(From El Universal Illustrado, Mexico City, May 28, 1926.)

Peoples who in the future generations increase and develop in accordance with the caprices of their will and without thought, whose children roam the streets ragged and hungry or, even elegantly clad; who are left by the civil and parental authorities to their own inclinations, without regard to the fatal ends to which their inclinations and evil habits may lead them — peoples, in a word, who permit the coming generations to be swayed by their passions and according to the close-in limitations of their intellects, will be disgraced. They will ignore the responsibility which rests upon them and the terrible verdict which will be pronounced upon them by history, which will throw in their faces the criminality of which they will be guilty.

The happiness, the glory, the greatness of a country rests upon the groundwork which is provided for the new generations which, smiling and full of activity, appear in the ranks of the various classes, and like butterflies spread their wings over the fields of social life, fluttering in the gardens of science to drink the honey of education, for the strengthening of their bodies and of their spirits. The present generation should not overlook the fact that their own interests and those of the country in general lie in the manner in which

the new generation is formed. The children of today will be the men of tomorrow who will be our successors in all the functions of public life.

If one searches through all the Latin nations, from the greatest to the least, he will everywhere find evidences of the great indifference of governments and the heads of families to the future well-being of their children. Why is this? It is a matter of race and character.

What attention is paid to this problem, either in the press or in the platform? One hears much in windy and resounding phrases of the hypothetical intellectual progress of society. But in reality, the fact is different and the actual truth of conditions shows us to what an appaling extent we are deceived. Travel through all parts of the country and visit the schools, and see what a gulf there is between what is being done and what is to be desired. Not half the children attend school who should. The teachers are left to their own devices and public opinion on the subject of education is languid. There are many places in this country where the schools are in the same sad and miserable state in which they were when they were attended by those whose bodies now rest in the tomb. But despite all this, wherever one goes one hears the necessity urged for the intellectual progress of the people. How many thousands of unfortunate beings are developed in the breast of modern society, among the shades of ignorance and of error!

The intricate questions of politics, economic problems and many topics similar to these distract the attention of the governments from the most important of all, which is the preparation of the new generations by the medium of the light of knowledge to succeed in the fight for life and to take our places.

The proper education of the masses will not be placed upon a firm basis until the people themselves are instructed, so long as nothing is done to make men conscious of their powers and of their own value, until there is placed in their hands the weapons of progress and civilization, which give life instead of destroying it. It is time, then, that the present society takes some account of the interest of the children, which constitute the general interest of the nation, and that the authorities devote their attention to safeguarding these interests. The only remedy for curing the great number of ills which afflict society, for repressing crime and extirpating so many cancers which prey upon the heart of society is through the complete education of the people. Therein lies the future of the nation.

The end which should be steadfastly pursued by the governments, the slogan of all modern society should be: Instruct the child, provide him with all the facilities he requires for education and overcome all obstacles in the way of this accomplishment. In this way a brilliant future for the nation is assured.

THE CHURCH QUESTION

(Statement to the New York Herald-Tribune, February 23, 1926.)

The eighth paragraph of Article 130 of the Mexican Constitution says textually:

"In order to exercise in the United States of Mexico the functions of a minister of any form of worship, the minister must be a Mexican citizen by birth."

Priests of foreign nationality whose presence in Mexico may no longer be tolerated have, with a full consciousness of the fact, been evading this Constitutional provision. They have been repeatedly warned by the government to cease these infractions of the fundamental law of the country, abandon the ministry and take up other occupations if they desired to remain in the country. Without paying attention to these notices the priests to whom I refer have continued to exercise their ministerial functions in violation of the Constitution. With a few exceptions they also have violated Article 3, the second paragraph of which provides: "No religious organization or minister of any denomination may establish or direct schools of primary education."

For these reasons, and without these measures implying any persecution of any church and without sentiments of antagonism to any foreigner, a government intent upon complying with its Con-

stitutional obligations could do nothing else than require those who were constantly violating the law to leave the country. In contrast with the attitude of the priests who have been expelled, there have been ministers of other faiths who, in obedience to the law, have ceased to exercise their religious functions and who have devoted themselves to other legal activities, such as teaching in the secondary educational institutions or adjusting the services of their churches in accordance with the law, without officiating as priests, and leaving the proper confessional work of their church to Mexican priests. These ministers have not been nor shall they be molested.

As always happens, when matters relating to Mexican affairs are in question, it has been sought to distort to the people of the United States the actual facts, which merely involve the simple question of obedience to the Constitution and to the laws of our country, and which do not constitute a campaign of religious persecution of a nature which naturally would be repugnant and even inexplicable to the public of a country wherein, fortunately, it is seldom necessary to regulate by legislation matters of a religious or an ecclesiastical nature, for the reason that in the United States religion keeps peacefully within the limit of its moral activities, without seeking to mingle spiritual with temporal matters and does not depart from its legitimate sphere for the purpose of meddling in political affairs.

Another distortion of the facts consists in the statement that the government has closed numerous schools in Mexico when, in reality, what has happened has been that in closing various convents, the existence of which is not permitted under the law, schools have been found operating

in connection with these convents, in opposition to Article 3 of the Constitution. These schools have not been closed, but those who conduct them have been compelled to adjust them to legal requirements.

Even had the recent public manifestation of disobedience and opposition to the laws of Mexico, given by the heads of the Catholic church in this country not taken place, the government, in pursuance of its duty to sustain the Constitution, would have proceeded as it has done, upon ascertaining that there were concrete cases of violation of the law.

But it is easily understood, when one considers the history of our country and the painful experiences which have resulted from the interference of the Catholic clergy with the pacific development of national institutions, to which the Catholic church has traditionally been antagonistic, that the exclusion from the country of all foreign priests who are not permitted to function here was necessary, especially in view of the possibility of a fresh intrusion of the Catholic clergy in temporal and political matters. The fact that they were foreigners provided the situation with even a more serious and difficult aspect.

So far as concerns the future attitude of the Mexican government toward Catholic priests or ministers of any other denomination, American citizens must be treated the same as citizens of any other country. But it must be said that the infractions of the law committed by American citizens are less numerous than those of which citizens of other countries have been guilty, for almost without exception American ministers of the Protestant denominations while in Mexico

conform to the laws and consequently are not molested. They develop the prosperity of their churches through the work of Mexican clergymen and live among us tranquilly and respected, so long as they do not preach.

THE CHURCH CONTROVERSY

(*Statement to the Hearst Newspapers*)

I am asked, first, if the manifesto of the so-called National League for the Defense of Religious Liberty and its boycott project for bringing about the "paralysis of the economic and social life of the country" is seditious: second, if this project will be effective and, third, if this government intends to lessen the severity of the application of the amendment and additions to the Penal Code which are complained of by the members of the League.

In reply, I would say that it is the duty of the judicial authorities to decide whether or not this manifesto and the programme of action adopted by the League legally possesses a seditious character. However, I may say that both are designed to disturb the public order, inasmuch as the documents express the intention of "paralyzing the economic and social life of the country," a project which, if carried out, will necessarily produce in Mexico, as it would in any other country, serious disturbances of the public peace, considering that nothing is more calculated to excite the people to disorder than interference with the proper functioning of the economic order.

But it is my opinion, which I am certain will be borne out very quickly by the devolepments, that this scheme of the Catholic agitators to which I refer will have no effect upon the economic or

social life of the country, and will constitute a definite proof of the weakness of these people. The only result of the manifesto will be to cause the wealthy classes to absent themselves from public amusement places, their presence in which would cause a certain amount of critical comment, without causing them to cease to attend other resorts of recreation where their presence will not attract so much attention.

Fortunately the economic life of Mexico does not depend upon a few dozen agitators who utilize the Catholic religion as a pretext for venting their spleen upon the men and the governments of the revolution. Neither industry, commerce nor any clearly productive activity depends, or ever has depended, upon the group of Catholic agitators who are back of this ridiculous movement. The vital forces of the country have always been animated and developed without the guidance of those who utilize religion to obtain publicity or profit for themselves, and these forces cannot be interfered with, either by Catholics or Protestants or atheists or groups of misguided individuals.

For the better understanding of this new aspect of our social struggle in Mexico, which this time bears the guise of an alleged crusade against Catholicism, it is worth while to set down briefly the history of this matter and to make definite psychological analysis of the elements that are aiming to bring about, through the medium of their handbills, a "paralysis of the economic life of Mexico."

The Federal government, because of its attention being wholly absorbed by urgent problems of administration and the resolution of the grave problems which affect the development of Mexico and its compliance with its internal and exterior obligations, paid no attention to the eternal ene-

mies of the country, the foreign or native Catholic priests of evil intention and the politicians and agitators who have always been found working in connection with them, when the head of the church in this country, on the last anniversary of the adoption of the present Constitution, printed or permitted to be printed in El Universal an old document in which the heads of the Mexican clergy discountenanced and repudiated the Constitution.

My government, as I say, ignored this document, which was born a number of years ago in times of revolutionary agitation, for to have done anything else would have stirred up anew political passions and strife. But several days after the first publication, El Universal repeated it. My government still tried to think that this did not indicate a new and a real intention on the part of the Mexican clergy to defy the fundamental laws of our country and that the publications were due to the misdirected journalistic enterprise of some stupid newspaper editor or to the antagonism of El Universal to the revolutionary government, but for the third time there appeared, in this instance over the signature of the Archbishop of Mexico himself, a fresh repudiation by the clergy of the Constitution and a notice of their refusal to recognize it.

Under these conditions, to continue to ignore seditious work of this nature—if it can be defined as seditious — which was being carried on in one of the principal newspapers of the country, considering that it constituted a clear repudiation of the Constitution and the reiterated announcement of the intention of the church to oppose it which, even though the measures by which it was to be combatted were not stated was, nevertheless,

when one considers the well known historical antecedents of our country, a clear and open incitation to armed rebellion — under these conditions, I say, to continue to ignore this action, and not to allow our attention to be distracted from the work which until then had engrossed it — the problem of administration and reconstruction — would have been not only a manifestation of a weakness with which the government is not afflicted, but also would have afforded encouragement to a dangerous rebellion.

Very well, then. What could, or should have been done in a case like this by the government of a country in which a group of any character, religious or otherwise, publicly repudiated the Constitution, announced its intention of combatting it, without stating whether or not it intended to oppose it by the only legal method, an appeal to the Congress for its modification, or through the votes of the people, and incited the citizens also to refuse to recognize it — what could or should have been done by my government in this case, except to proceed under the provisions of the Constitution to which the clergy referred in their protest and which they were disobeying, by their own confession and through the very fact of the protest itself, and demand a strictest compliance with the fundamental law?

This is the manner in which the famous so-called religious conflict in Mexico was born.

There is no necessity of amending the new regulations and we have no intentions of doing so. We shall limit ourselves to enforcing a compliance with the existing laws, some of which have existed since the days of the Reform, more than fifty years ago, and others since 1917, when the present Constitution was promulgated. If the

Penal Code has been modified in accordance with Constitutional requirements, and in a legal manner, in such a way as to cause those who oppose the Constitution to believe that they are justified in organizing their curious campaign to "paralyze the economic and social life of Mexico," it is also perfectly logical to believe that the clergy who, according to their own confession, have violated these laws, will be unable to do with impunity, considering that penalties have been established by Congressional authority for such violations. These penalties are not excessive, nor are they different from those which are imposed by the governments of any civilized country upon persons who violate the Constitution.

I desire to make it plain that, from the beginning, the conduct of the government, regardless of what may be our sentiments or our philosophical or religious ideas, has not been, nor will it be, animated by rancor or ill-will or any desire to persecute the Archbishops or the Bishops who signed the manifesto against the Constitution and who sought to excite the people to rebellion, for in reality that was the effect of the documents which were printed in El Universal.

The best proof of the truth of this is that, when we proceeded to apply the Constitution, we realized that the first results of this step would be favorable to the native Mexican clergy, through the automatic elimination of priests of foreign nationality who, while it is true that they refrained from signing the manifesto referred to, have in many cases joined with undesirable members of the Mexican clergy in political machinations against the government. These foreign priests were expelled because of the requirements of the Constitution, which provides that clergymen who

officiate in the country must be Mexicans by birth, although, as I have said, their expulsion will be beneficial morally and materially to some of the most apparent and notorious enemies of the government, who were and are various Mexican Archbishops and Bishops.

To speak with all sincerity, I believe that, rather than elements directly connected with the church, it is certain laymen who in this matter are using the church as a cloak, who have constantly and by every means sought to interfere with the administrative work of the government, and who are hiding themselves, as I have said, behind the mask of religion to disguise their old reactionary tendencies and persistent rancor and enemity toward the governments and the men of the Mexican Revolution.

If one carefully analyzes the personality of the so-called Catholic leaders and followers of these National Leagues for the Defense of Religious Liberty or Leagues of Catholic Women, organizers of demonstrations of servants (taking care themselves to remain out of sight in their houses, or being kept there by their husbands) or of more or less well defined groups which for several months in all parts of Mexico have been opposing the government, I believe that we shall find these elements:

Lawyers who need to make "very apparent" their real or pretended religious zeal in order to be recognized by Catholic opinion as "strong clergical elements," as men of law who "rally to the defense of the church," who are ambitious of being considered worthy to be entrusted with the power of managing the funds or properties of clandestine religious institutions, as representatives or defenders of the property of the clergy —

lawyers who by these means seek profitable business connections with those few wealthy Catholics who are still sufficiently ingenuous to believe that anyone who makes a parade of his religious enthusiasm thereby guarantees his honesty and his competence.

Another very interesting group of actors in this "religious conflict" are the professional political agitators who, under the mantle of Catholicism, years ago organized the National Catholic Party, which pretended to support Madero and which, on the day following his assassination, allied itself with Huerta; who later created the National Union of Agriculturists formed by a theoretical majority of hacendados of the country who succeeded in 1923 in corrupting various revolutionary leaders, but only through promises of reward, because they are, and were, incapable of getting together enough money to pay the bribes they agree to pay, and who during my political campaign dreamed of defeating the will of the people of Mexico. It is this same outfit who are today intriguing with so-called "National Leagues Against the Destruction of the Wealth and Economic Power" of the country and who received from the Archbishop of Mexico a tepid and carefully considered written endorsement, in which he was cautious enough to insert two lines, to the effect that he approved "the movement of the League to paralyze the economic life of the country, because it is an orderly and a pacific movement," thereby providing, or trying to provide, the members of the clergy with a clean bill of health in case, which he knew would happen, this economic paralysis should give rise to disorderly manifestations and tumults.

The Archbishop and the Bishops did not dare

take the risk of appearing to be responsible for the disorders which are going on today and, as they said, "counselled orderly and pacific action." At the same time they do not dare to discountenance these disorders for fear that this would be interpreted by groups of ignorant Catholics of good faith as a cowardly weakening in face of the "gallant and generous" attitude of the political agitators who are defenders of bad Catholicism.

I can well understand that it is difficult for the people of the United States to comprehend that there are in Mexico trouble-makers who seek to cover their political maneouvres with the cloak of religion. I know very well, and I envy this advantage possessed by the United States, that not a single article referring to religion is contained in the American Constitution, simply because your people are sufficiently fortunate not to be under the necessity of including anything of the sort in their fundamental law. There the churches distinguish between their religious and their political attitude and conduct, while in Mexico from the Independence to the present direct interference of the Catholic church in various manners in temporal and political matters has been a constant historical problem. It is not understood in the United States that this meddling is the only reason for the constant weakening of the spiritual influence of the Catholic church in Mexico, until today, with the exceptions which I have named and of a certain small percentage of Catholics of good faith, but who are not capable of seeing clearly to the bottom of things or into the entanglements of the Church intrigues, all of the Catholics of Mexico who are good Mexicans, make a definite and perfect distinction between their religious du-

ties and the obligation which is urged upon them to approve of, and participate in, the temporal or political activities of their unworthy shepherds.

Naturally my government cannot think of softening the application of the amendments and additions to the penal code which have been seized upon by the Catholic political leaders and bad priests in our country as a pretext for opposing the reconstructive and revolutionary social work which we have underway. Every new manifestation of animosity or opposition or interference with the administrative tasks of my government will perforce be followed by fresh measures of repression toward those who do not comply with, or who ignore, the laws of Mexico. Actions like this menace to "paralyze the economic life of Mexico" merely serve to demonstrate with irrefutable facts, the lack of force of those who contemplate this criminal proceeding which, even if it succeeds, can hurt the government very little and, on the other hand, will cause great and irreparable harm to the large majority of our people. The final satisfactory result to the Revolution will be that, assuming that this criminal proposition succeeds, it will bring upon the heads of the promoters the hatred and contempt of most of the members of the Mexican family who will appreciate their perverse selfishness in being willing to drag the citizens down to poverty, and perhaps death, in order, under the banner of Catholicism, to satisfy old grudges and bastard political ambitions.

THE LAW AND THE CHURCH

(Statements to The New York Times)

The New York *Times* has requested an exposition of the religious situation provoked by the attitude of the heads of the Catholic Church in seeking to repudiate, and in violating, self-confessedly, the Mexican Constitution. Although the American public perfectly understands the origin of this question, through the careful analysis made by me in previous statements to the press of that country, I judge it to be not inconvenient to consider now some other aspects of the rebellious attitude which I have already mentioned. I refer to the document entitled "A Pastoral Letter of the Collective Episcopate of Mexico," which the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops published on the twenty-fifth of this month, because the statements and the falsehoods contained in this document provide the most perfect justification for what has been done by the government.

tI is pretended by the signers of the pastoral that the orders of the government "render impossible preaching, administration of the sacraments and worship in general" and that on this account they "find it impossible to continue exercising their ministerial functions."

It is absolutely untrue that any order of the Federal Government makes it impossible, within certain proper limits, to worship within the churches or other places designated for that purpose. So far as concerns the sacraments no orders of the

government exist to impede or to render difficult their administration, in or out of the churches.

Dispositions of this nature, which would be the only ones which could invade the sacredness of conscience and wound the religious sentiments which have been, and are, perfectly respected by us, so long as they do not assume the form of illicit acts without the spiritual terrain of conscience, have never been taken by the government and will not be taken. And if, advantaging themselves of false premises, the Archbishops and Bishops who signed the pastoral letter say "that they cannot tolerate oppressions to the principles relating to the constitution of the church," it would not be strange if we should find ourselves in the same position, logically, assuming that we find it impossible to tolerate oppressions relative to the Constitution of the Republic, with the added circumstance that these oppressions of, attacks upon and disobedience to the Constitution are constant and indisputable on the part of the Catholics, with this difference: We proceed merely as we are obliged to do under the law while they, abandoning their proper sphere, which is purely religious, seek to invade, and have invaded, the spheres of the government and of politics and provoke disorderly movements and, overtly or covertly, rebellion.

It was to be expected that in this pastoral, through which the members of the hierarchy seek to justify their conduct, they would state concretely and definitely "the acts which render it impossible for them to exercise their functions" and the laws which, as they say, "prohibit preaching, the administration of the sacraments and worship in general." Not only do they not do this, but a careful reading of this document shows clearly that there are only three motives for the action of the clergy, aside from their general proposition of repudiating

the Constitution of 1857 and even the Laws of Reform.

Concretely these motives are: first, the fear of losing what are called sacred properties and which, since the enaction of the Laws of Reform, sealed by years of cruel welfare, every Mexican knows and feels are the property of the nation; second, opposition to the insistence of the government that the priests in charge of churches should provide the government with the information required by the law, that is to say, that the priests shall register themselves with the government; and third, their alleged belief that the intention of the government is to disestablish the Catholic Church in the country for the benefit, they think, of some other religious creed.

The first fear led them to conclude the pastoral by threatening and excommunicating, as traitors, all Catholics who reveal the existence of church property, which demonstrates that the church actually is holding property in contravention of laws not made by us, but which were enacted sixty years ago. They might have spared this admonition and threat to the Catholics of Mexico of whom, it appears, we hold a better opinion than the Mexican Bishops, because an intensified moral sense in the people as a result of the Revolution causes it to be expected that fewer denunciations of properties held by the priests will be made by Catholics than in the days of the Reform, when in a majority of cases they were uttered in the expectation of the denouncers that they would be enriched by the rewards of these denunciations. Incidentally, the church makes no bones about receiving to its bosom those who in former times made themselves wealthy by this means, and also their children, who in ceasing to be "traitors to the church," nevertheless continue to be traitors to the interests and ideals of the Mexican people.

In order to put a stop to these selfish practices, to elevate the motives of the government and to aid in the moralization of the people, we propose to modify the laws to the end that the property of the clergy shall be taken over in its entirety by the nation and that compliance with the requirements of the Constitution shall redound to the personal profit of no one, but only to the enrichment of the country.

So far as concerns the requirement of Paragraph XI of Article 30 of the Constitution, that priests shall register themselves, which causes the Mexican Episcopate so much alarm and indignation, this is not a new thing, but a reasonable Constitutional requirement that makes it obligatory upon the priests, together with ten members of their religious creed, to notify the municipal authorities who is the person in charge of the church, that they give notice of any changes which are made in the personnel of the custodians of the church and that they obtain permission to open new churches, all of which is for the purpose of enabling the proper records and statistics to be kept, aside from the evident fact that it is impossible to conceive that the government, in representation of the nation, which is the owner of the churches, shall allow itself to remain in ignorance of the identity of the persons who are in charge of these properties. Without having made a special study of this question, I am not inclined to believe that there exists any other well organized country wherein, in some department, cannot be found records of this nature, even though the listing of all sites destined for public use is required for no more elemental reasons than those consequent upon the enforcement of police and health regulations.

With reference to the affirmation of the Mexican Episcopate that the government is seeking to bring

about, not liberty of worship, as demanded by the Constitution, but the putting down of the Catholic Church in Mexico, it may only be said that this cannot be taken as a legal act or disposition intended to apply only to priests of the Catholic Church, but that it treats in every case of a general disposition to make effective the separation of church and state, the term "church" implying not alone the Catholics, as the Bishops assert, but every religious creed which manifests itself by forms of visible worship and which, therefore, because of its relationship with the community, requires to be regulated in order that liberty of worship may effectively exist.

To exhaust this subject once for all and because since August first the government has not translated its judgment into words, but into deeds, I will mention briefly everything that is required and prohibited by the recent reforms in the Penal Code and the sanctions which have been established for the punishment of infractions of the Constitution. I call attention to the fact that this is the law which, according to the expression of the Mexican Episcopate, prevents religious worship because "it makes absolutely impossible preaching, administration of the sacraments and worship in general."

The decree to which I refer, which complies with the requirements of the Constitution, prohibits foreign priests from functioning in Mexico. This aspect of the question has been solved by the departure from the country of almost all of the foreign priests and by the acceptance by other foreign ministers of the requirement that they confine their activities within the limits laid down by the law. This measure which the law compelled us to take has benefitted the Mexican clergy through elemental reasons based upon professional competition.

The decree regulates education in private schools in which primary branches are taught, giving com-

plete liberty to secondary, technical, commercial and superior schools, universities, etc., to impart religious training.

The Episcopate in its pastoral letter counsels heads of families to comply in their homes "with the grave mission of becoming educators, which God has confided to us," which is exactly the thesis sustained by the Government of Mexico upon initiating the discussion of the educational aspect of the church question.

The establishment or functioning of monastic orders is not permitted, because this is prohibited by the present Constitution, as it was by the Constitution of 1857 and by the Laws of Reform. We know that monastic orders do not constitute an essential or an indispensable condition for religious worship. Neither do prohibitions aganst them constitute attacks upon, or disturb, the confessional aspect of the Catholic religion. The most pro-Catholic countries and governments of the world in the course of history have expelled or suppressed various monastic orders, without any of their governors having lost their characters as "beloved sons of the Catholic Church."

It is forbidden for any person acting in the capacity of a minister or any priest of any religious denomination to encourage publicly repudiation of the political institutions of the country or disobedience to the laws or the authorities or to their orders by the medium of written declarations, preachings or sermons.

Probably this is the article which, in the opinion of the Mexican Episcopate, renders it "impossible to preach," for its curbs those who untilize, or desire to utilize, the pulpit, not exclusively for religious preaching, but to incite opposition to the laws or to make propaganda against the government, or in

general, for non-religious ends of a political character.

I am curious to know what government in any country would adopt a suicidal policy of permitting attacks upon its Constitution, its laws or its heads to be made in the churches, although we frequently tolerate, and will continue to do so, all manner of public attacks from non-religious sources, that is to say, in the newspapers, in political meetings or in places where advantage is not taken of religious consciences, which always implies obedience to the priests of an almost passive and a servile character, or where the ideas expressed by the priest are impotent to excite controversy.

The organization is prohibited of political groups bearing titles tending to indicate a connection with some religious faith. That is to say, there cannot exist in Mexico any organization called the Catholic Party or the Protestant Party, although Protestants or Catholics have a perfect right, which they constantly exercise, to affiliate with political bodies. What we seek to prevent is that political contests shall assume the aspect of religious contests through the exploitation of the name of a religious organization, which tends to give rise to public disorders. In the United States there are undoubtedly millions of Catholics in the Republican Party and as many Protestants in the Democratic Party, and it never occurs to anyone, and the effort would fail if it were tried, to form a Catholic Party with the object of uniting under one political banner all Catholics who are Democrats or Republicans.

The celebration of religious acts of public ownership outside of the churches is prohibited. When Mexico attains a state of collective consciousness, as a result of the education of the masses, which translates itself into respect for all creeds and also for the laws, it surely then will not be inconvenient

to permit public worship outside of the churches. But so long as intolerance prevails, especially among the Catholic clergy, as it does at present, to permit public worship outside of the churches would be equivalent to inviting constant turmoil among the people.

In proof of this intolerance of the Catholic clergy it is necessary only to mention the frequent attacks which are made in small towns upon Protestant clergymen or laymen and which are always incited by the local priest, and the threats made recently by the priests of the church of Guadalupe, near the capital, against a group of American tourists who planned to visit this edifice. This attack was frustrated by the government, which notified the priests that they would be fired upon by the mounted police if the visitors were molested. These tourists were threatened merely because they were Protestants and members of the Masonic fraternity.

Because of the same spirt of intolerance priests are not permitted to appear in public wearing their vestments, although it is not true, as has been stated, that men or women are forbidden to wear medals or other religious objects. This erroneous interpretation has been given to the article which forbids laymen from wearing clerical garb or, as the law says, "characteristic" clothing. This does not apply to medals or crosses or rosaries, for these are not "characteristic" objects. They may be worn merely because of their artistic value or their beauty as jewels by anyone, Catholics or Mohammedans.

Thus I have explained the law, as it actually is and as it is judged to be in Mexico by Catholics of conscience and of good faith, who do not see that it renders impossible worship, the administration of the sacraments or preaching, and who also discern in the attitude of the Mexican Episcopate no other motive than that of bringing about the worst pos-

sible conditions for the interests of the Catholic, similar to those which existed in 1860, through the proposed abolishing of the Laws of Reform, the Constitution of 1917 and even that of 1857—which in the matter of its religious characteristics was as far advanced as the present Constitution. For an attempt of this sort would naturally result in a complete defeat for the unworthy priests who have forgotten that their functions are purely spiritual and dream of dominating politically according to a long-disused order.

RESPONSE TO A MEMORIAL FROM THE MEXICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, APPROVING OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE IN THE CHURCH CONTROVERSY

The members of the Mexican Federation of Labor cannot imagine how much I am encouraged by the attitude assumed in this historical moment by the organized labor of the country. I believe that the terrain upon which the opposing social forces in Mexico are each making their battle is about to be definitely defined once for all, that the hour is approaching in which a decisive test of strength is to be made and in which we shall see if the Revolution is to conquer the reaction or if the triumphs of the Revolution have been ephemeral.

As I have said in previous declarations my government is deeply preoccupied with the resolution of the great national problems, with economies in the administration, the balancing of the budget, the reorganization of the army, the encouragement of public education, the industrial and agricultural development of the country and the contemporaneous social movement—busied, I say, with these enormous tasks, to which the clergical element is indifferent. In the most difficult moments of my government, in which we are concerned with grave international questions, upon the solution of which depends the fate of Mexico as a sovereign country, the clergy, with all bad faith, with all perfidy, chal-

lenges the government by making declarations in the reactionary press of the capital in which it says that it refuses to recognize the Constitution and orders all members of the Catholic Church to disobey and oppose its provisions. They also declare that Articles 27 and 123 of the Constitution are drawbacks to the country, that they constitute abuses to liberty and that they should not be obeyed.

In face of this defiance the government has been compelled to oppose the high-handed action of the clergy legally, justly and properly. The result is this contest, of the facts of which you are aware.

I have absolute faith that the political evolution of the country which is in progress has worked for the welfare of Mexico and especially for that of the laboring classes. We shall triumph definitely. I have always expected the working people to be in the vanguard of this fight, because of their lack of selfishness and the broad vision taken by them upon the future of Mexico.

REPLY OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE MEMORIAL OF THE MEXICAN EPISCOPATE*

*(*See Appendix for text of the Memorial of the Episcopate.)*

I refer to your communication of August 16 in which, exercising the right of petition contained in Article 8 of the Constitution, you request me as President of Mexico to use my influence "in order to amend in the most efficacious manner" the articles of the Constitution which you consider to be contrary to your interests, as well as the penal prescriptions sanctioned by them, and that, "until these reforms are made," the decree providing the penalties above mentioned and the operation of the Constitutional provisions in question be suspended, in a manner which, to quote you, will create a "situation of tolerance," in contravention of the law.

As the power to originate proper laws and decrees, according to Article 71 of the Constitution, rests with the President, the Federal Congress and the State Legislatures, you have properly exercised your right of petition by directing your memorial to one of the above. But I must say to you, in all sincerity, that I am less likely than possibly the other branches of the government to accede to this petition and to initiate the reforms and the suspensions asked for, because my convictions are in complete philosophical and political accord with the Constitutional laws to which you object, which renders it impossbile for me to approve before the Federal Congress any such measures as those advocated by you.

These same convictions will explain my refusal to suspend or to ignore the modifications of the Penal Code, issued by a decree of the President through the exercise of extraordinary powers conferred upon him by the Congress, and which provide penalties for infractions of the articles of the Constitution which are under discussion; and also my refusal to fail to comply with my duties as executive and to break the oath to which I subscribed before the people of Mexico when I took office, to respect the Constitution and to cause it to be respected.

If, in view of my refusal to disregard the laws or to bring about their amendment or their suspension, you desire to exhaust the legal methods which are at your disposal in your efforts to obtain the accomplishments of your desires, you may have recourse to a petition sent directly to the Congress or to the Legislatures of the states. So far as concerns the Presidential decree which establishes the penalties to which you object, the same course as above suggested is open to you, or if you judge that this decree is unconstitutional, you have the option of appealing to the federal courts.

Referring now to what may be considered to be an exposition of the motives of your petition and to provide a clean conception of the point of view of the executive, I desire to say to you the following:

It is not true, as you affirm, that in "having suspended public worship in the churches" you have caused the government to charge you with rebellion, or even to think of bringing that accusation against you. I agree with you that the fact of suspending the exercise of any profession, because those who practice it or those who direct the practitioners, refuse to recognize the laws governing its practices, is not an act of rebellion, and that the suspension of worship in the Catholic churches, no matter for

what duration of time, is a problem absolutely divorced from the government.

However, the acts which we consider, and have considered, as rebellious are those which consist in taking a stand of public and open hostility to the law by working for the abolition or amendment of the Constitution of the Republic by proceedings which are unconstitutional, as well as those acts which involve resistance by illegal means to compliance with the law and those which conduce to crimes against the public order, in which cases it is obligatory upon the government to punish the offenders to the fullest extent of the law, and not alone those who may be considered as merely passive or irresponsibly offending elements, but, as a matter of strict justice, those who by their acts or their preachings provoke the acts of rebellion.

You also state in your preliminary exposition that your principal reason for not having attempted to bring about the amendment of the Constitutional articles whereby in 1873 the Laws of Reform were incorporated in the Constitution and for failing to take appropriate measures for the annulment or the amendment of the Constitution of 1917, was of the fact that the heads of government "for some reasons or other did not see the urgency of complying with these articles," and that "thereby a situation of tolerance was created." This is an illegal situation which you ask to be continued. You especially refer to the proposals sent to the Congress by President Carranza during his administration, in order that some of the reforms which you now desire might then be made.

It seems natural, then, in view of the last consideration, that you should appeal to the Congress at its next session in the coming September to proceed with the speedy and definite resolution of the law presented by President Carranza. I take this

opportunity to manifest my intention to you, in pursuance of my duty as executive, not to place any obstacles in the way of any legal efforts you may make to bring about the modification of the laws which you are opposing, but at the same time giving you notice that I shall not refuse to debate the question before the Congress, although, if I chose to do so, it is within my power to withdraw from the Congress the law which was sent to it by President Carranza when he occupied the position now filled by me.

Whatever may have been the motives of past executives of Mexico in complying with the Constitution in all of its parts, or failing to cause it to complied with, I am only interested in seeing that the successor of President Carranza, to whom you have referred, fulfills his duty properly. I say to you that this government will tolerate no situation which may be brought into existence by paltering with any philosophical, political or revolutionary standard—least of all standards which are as firm and definite as mine—but that President Carranza's successor, urged by imperative consideration of a political nature and by the necessity of resolving inate national problems of a vital character, some of which have already been settled, will once for all establish and affirm the legal situations created by the Constitution.

You also state in your note that the reforms which you advocate will tend to affect "the most complete independence of Church from State in a manner whereby the Constitution and the organic laws and regulations will provide for a faithful interpretation of this supreme postulate," to the end "that the State shall not alone not dictate laws for or against any religion, but that it shall not legislate in religious matters," despite which assertions you

approve in your petition of the recognition by the State of the personality of the Church.

In respect to this I must say that if it is true that Article 1 of the law of September 25, 1873, recognizes the personality of the churches in establishing that "the State and the Church are independent of each other," this postulation, which was merely an inspiration of the law quoted, has been transformed from an inspiration to a contrary reality by Article 130 of the present Constitution, which says in Paragraph V: "The law does not recognize the personality of any religious corporation controlling churches." Hence, if it is sought in Mexico to bring about the restoration of an outworn tradition and to reestablish, within our present Constitutional régime, the old problem of Church and State, or otherwise a State within a State, it must be observed that the existing Constitution goes much deeper and more explicity into the matter than did the law of 1873 by eliminating completely the problem by the process of not granting any personality to the churches and establishing that members of the clergy shall be considered merely as persons who are exercising a profession and making them strictly subject to the laws relating to that matter.

In conclusion, and referring to liberty of conscience, thought, worship, education, association and of the press, for which you ask in your communication, I must say to you that these liberties, in the terms and limits conceded to them under the Constitution, are concretely defined in Articles 3, 6, 7, 9 and 24 of the Constitution, the strict and honorable compliance with which I propose to enforce, in accordance with Constitutional requirements and through the necessary legal decrees and regulations, until the Federal Congress or the state Legislatures

modify the Constitution or the Supreme Court directs the limitations or the modification of the enforcement of the regulatory laws.

Effective Suffrage. No Reelection.

Mexico, August 19, 1926.

(Signed) P. ELIAS CALLES, *President.*

TEXT OF THE DECREE REFORMING THE PENAL CODE OF THE FEDERAL DISTRICT AND TERRITORIES, RELATING TO CRIMES AGAINST THE COMMON ORDER AND APPLYING TO THE ENTIRE NATION IN CASES OF OFFENSES COMMITTED AGAINST THE FEDERATION. IN EFFECT AUGUST 1, 1926

Plutarco Elias Calles, Constitutional President of the United States of Mexico, to the inhabitants thereof. Be it known:

That in pursuance of the facilities entrusted to the executive of the Union by decree dated January 7 of the current year, I hereby issue the following:

Law reforming the Penal Code of the Federal District and Territories, relating to crimes against the common order, and applying to the entire nation in crimes against the Federation, which relates to religious worship and to civil discipline of church matters.

Article 1. Only clergymen of Mexican birth may exercise their functions within the territory of the Republic, under penalty of a fine of not more than 500 pesos or imprisonment for not more than 15 days. At his discretion the federal executive may summarily expel from the country foreign priests or ministers who infract this provision, in accord-

ance with the authority given him by Article 33 of the Constitution.

Article 2. For the penal effect of this law, it is applicable to persons acting as ministers of a religious faith when they execute religious acts or administer sacraments connected with the creed with which they are affiliated, or publicly pronounce doctrinal preachings or in the same form carry on the work of religious proselyting.

Article 3. Instruction given in the official establishments of education shall be of a lay nature, and also in the elementary and superior primary classes in private schools, under penalty of a fine of not more than 500 pesos or imprisonment for not more than 15 days. For second offenses the offender shall be punished with other penalties fixed by the law and the school shall be closed.

Article 4. No religious corporation or minister of any creed shall establish or conduct primary schools, under penalty of a fine of not more than 500 pesos or imprisonment for not more than 15 days, and the school may be closed immediately.

Article 5. Primary schools shall be subject to official inspection, under penalty in case of a refusal to submit to such inspection, of a fine of not more than 500 pesos or imprisonment for not more than 15 days.

Article 6. The state shall not permit the consummation of any contract, pact or convention which shall have for its object the lessening, loss or irreparable sacrificing of the liberty of man, in matters of labor, education or religion. Consequently the law forbids the establishment of monastic orders, regardless of their denomination or their objects. For the effects of this article monastic orders are religious societies the members of which live under certain rules peculiar to said orders, through the medium of promises or temporary or perpetual

vows and in subjection to one or more superiors, even when all of the members of the order each live in separate places.

Existing monastic or conventual orders shall be dissolved by the authorities, and the exclaustrated persons shall be identified and registered.

Upon proof that exclaustrated persons have returned to religious community life, after the dissolution of the community with which they are affiliated, they shall be imprisoned for from one to two years. In such cases the superiors, priors, prelates, directors or persons who occupy official positions in the organization or direction of the community in question shall be imprisoned for six years. Women shall suffer two-thirds of the above penalties, in each case.

Article 7. Persons who shall induce or incline minors to renounce their religious liberty, even though they be related to said minors, shall be punished according to the provisions of the law. Persons who induce or incline those of legal age, in the above sense, shall also be punished in accordance with the law.

Article 8. Persons functioning as ministers of any religious sect who shall publicly and by means of writings, preachings or sermons incite their readers or hearers to a repudiation of the political institutions or to disobedience of the laws or orders of the authorities shall be punished by imprisonment for six years and by a fine of the second class.

Article 9. If as the direct and immediate result of the incitement referred to in the preceding section less than ten persons employ force, threats, menaces or physical or moral violence against the public authority or its agents or shall make use of arms, each shall suffer imprisonment for more than one year and a fine of the second class. Priests or ministers who are responsible for such incitements

to violence shall be imprisoned for six years, unless the disorders result in a crime which merits a greater punishment, in which case the latter shall be applied. If the persons concerned in these disorders number ten or more, proceedings shall be taken in accordance with Articles 1123 and 1125 of the Penal Code.

Article 10. Ministers are forbidden under any circumstances from criticizing the fundamental laws of the country, the authorities in general or the government in particular, under penalty of five years imprisonment.

Article 11. Ministers are forbidden to take part in political meetings, under penalties provided by law, and the meeting shall immediately be dissolved by the authorites. Second offenses shall be punished as provided for by the law.

Article 12. Under no circumstances shall there be permitted to be taught in the public schools courses designed for the professional instruction of ministers of any form of worship. Persons responsible for the infraction of this article shall be dismissed and prohibited from obtaining employment in any other capacity in the same department for a period of from one to three years. Any orders tending to create a situation of the nature of that described in the first part of this paragraph shall be annulled and the professional titles which may have been obtained through a violation of this article shall be cancelled.

Article 13. Religious publications or those the policy of which favors any special religious creed, as indicated by its programme or its title, shall not comment upon political matters or print information concerning the acts of the authorities or of individuals who are connected directly with the functioning of public institutions. Directors of such

publications who shall violate this article shall be punished according to the law.

Article 14. Should the offending publication have no director, the penal responsibility shall fall upon the author of the political comment or of the news referred to in the preceeding article, and if it is not possible to identify the author, the manager, agent, editor or owner of the publication shall be held responsible. Second offenders under Articles 13 and 14 of this law shall be punished by the suppression of the publication.

Article 15. The formation of all classes of political organizations, the titles of which include any word or description to indicate that they are connected with any religious faith is strictly prohibited. In cases of violations of this article the Board of Directors or those who head the groups shall be punished according to law, and the authorities shall proceed to disband the organizations.

Article 16. Political meetings shall not be held in churches, or other places destined for public worship. If the persons in charge of the church shall directly organize the meeting, invite persons to it or take part in it, they shall be punished in accordance with the law. If the persons in charge of the church merely permit the meeting to be held or conceal the fact of the meeting, without taking part in it, they shall be punished according to the law. In both cases the federal executive may also order the temporary or permanent closing of the church.

Article 17. All religious acts of public worship shall be celebrated only within the churches, which shall always be under the vigilance of the authorities. Those who organize such religious acts outside of the churches and the ministers who take part in them shall be punished according to the law.

Article 18. Ministers or individuals of either sex who are members of any religious faith shall not

use outside the churches religious vestments of any description, under penalty of a fine of not more than 500 pesos or imprisonment for not more than 15 days Second offenses shall be punished according to the law.

Article 19. Persons in charge of churches shall within one month after the date of this law, or within the month following the day upon which they assume such charge, give the notices provided for in Paragraph 11 of Article 130 of the Constitution, under penalty of a fine of 500 pesos or imprisonment for 15 days. Until the provisions of the Constitution are complied with the Department of Gobernacion shall order the church closed.

Article 20. The offenses referred to in the law may be denounced publicly.

Article 21. Religious associations exercising control over churches, regardless of their creed, shall not in any case possess the right to own, acquire or to administer real estate or mortgages placed upon real estate. Such goods as they now hold by themselves or through the intervention of any other persons shall revert to the nation, and the right is given publicly to denounce such properties as may fall within the meaning of this paragraph. Persons who conceal the existence of properties or mortgages mentioned herein shall be punished by imprisonment for from one to two years and the same penalty shall be imposed upon persons who hold church property in their own names.

Article 22. Churches designated for public worship are the property of the nation, represented by the Federal Government, which shall determine whether they shall continue to be used for this purpose. Episcopal residences, country houses, convents or any other edifices constructed or intended for the administration, carrying on or teaching of any form of religion shall immediately pass to the

full ownership of the nation, to be destined exclusively for the public service of the federation or the states in their respective jurisdictions. Persons who destroy, damage or imperil these structures shall be punished by imprisonment for from one to two years and shall be held civilly responsible.

Article 23. The federal authorities principally are charged with the enforcement of this law. The state and municipal authorities shall aid the federal authorities and, with them, become equally responsible when for any reason any of the provisions of this law fail to be complied with.

Article 24. Municipal authorities who permit or tolerate the violation of any of Articles 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6 of this law shall be punished by a fine of not more than 100 pesos or by suspension for one month. Second offenses shall be punishable by dismissal and by disbarment from the privilege of holding any public office for five years.

Article 25. Municipal authorities who have knowledge of cases covered by Articles 8, 9, 10, 15 and 16 of this law and who fail immediately to take proper action shall be considered as being accomplices or concealers of the crime, according to the circumstances of the case.

Article 26. Municipal authorities who fail immediately to proceed to dissolve associations for political purposes formed by ministers shall be fined not more than 100 pesos or suspended from office for not more than one month. For second offenses, they shall be dismissed and debarred from holding public office for not more than five years.

Article 27. The proper law offices of the federation shall take the necessary steps in cases of infraction of Article 13 of this law. If they fail to do so they shall be punished by a fine of not more than 100 pesos, by suspension for not more than one month or by dismissal.

Article 28. Municipal authorities who permit or tolerate the celebration of any religious act outside of the churches shall be fined not more than 100 pesos or suspended for not more than one month. For second offenses they shall be dismissed.

Article 29. Municipal authorities are charged with the enforcement of Article 18 of this law, under penalty of being fined not more than 100 pesos or of suspension for not more than one month. For second offenses they shall be dismissed.

Article 30. The same authorities shall enforce Article 19 of this law, under penalty of being fined not more than 1,000 pesos and of being dismissed.

Article 31. The municipal authorities shall make lists of the churches and of those who are in charge of them and shall send copies of both lists to the Department of Gobernacion within a month after the date of this law, or of the date upon which such lists are subsequently made, under penalty of being dismissed and fined not more than 500 pesos. If copies of such lists are not sent to the Department of Gobernacion until the expiration of a month after the date above mentioned, the municipal authorities shall be fined not more than 100 pesos, suspended for not more than one month or dismissed.

Article 32. Municipal authorities who permit a new church to be opened without previously and through the Governor of the state or territory, giving notice to the Department of Gobernacion, shall be suspended for not more than six months or dismissed, and the church shall immediately be closed.

Article 33. Municipal authorities who within the space of one month fail to notify the Department of Gobernacion, through the proper channels, of the removal of a church shall be fined not more than 100 pesos and suspended for not more than one month. For a second offense the offender shall be dismissed.

Transitory Articles

Article 1. This law shall take effect July 31 of the present year.

Article 2. From the date of its effect this law shall supersede all laws and regulations which are contrary to its provisions.

Article 3. A copy of this law, in legible characters, shall be posted at the main doors of the churches or of the places wherein acts of religious worships and habitually celebrated.

It is ordered that this law be printed, published, circulated and properly complied with.

Given in the Palace of the federal executive power in the City of Mexico, this fourteenth day of July in the year Nineteen Hundred and Twenty-six.

(Signed) P. ELIAS CALLES,
President.

(Signed) A. TEJEDA,
The Minister of State and Gobernacion.

WHAT WE ARE DOING IN MEXICO AND FOR WHOM WE ARE DOING IT

(From Foreign Business, New York City)

Upon commencing this article solicited by your publication, concerning the programme which we are carrying out in Mexico and the domestic and international problems with which my government is compelled to cope, I desire to quote a paragraph from a proclamation made in March last by Lord Reading, Viceroy of India, to the legislature of that country, in which he says:

"The essential basic principle of British institutions rests upon a fundamental unity of sentiment and a general desire to bring about results of capital importance, rejecting for the benefit of the common welfare the petitions for individuals or sectional advantages."

This is nothing more or less than we are trying to do in Mexico, to "Reject the petitions for individual or sectional advantages, for the benefit of the common welfare."

Naturally, it is not easy nor agreeable to develop with energy and success a policy of this nature in a country wherein the privileges belonging to every class, which have been regarded sa rights, although frequently consisting of immoral or unjust concessions, have always been in the hands of an insignificant minority, native or foreign. At the bottom of each and every one of the problems which the revolutionary government in Mexico has in recent years

sought to solve, has always been found a conflict between the common interests, the true necessities of the Mexicans as a whole, and individual interests, small in origin, utility and purpose but great when measured by the standard of dollars.

So, for example, we find the agrarian problem in Mexico, the petroleum problem, the educational problem and, finally, referring to the present, that which is today regarded as the religious problem, although this, as we shall indicate later on, is merely a conflict between the heads of the Catholic Church and the Constitutional laws of Mexico which the former are trying to ignore.

If one considers that the Mexicans possess less than a third of the total riches of the country, and that of this third, which amounts to approximately $1,500,000,000 U. S., not less than sixty percent has been and continues to be in the hands of the Catholic clergy, one may easily comprehend why, in the resolution of the problems of Mexico, which always possess a marked economic aspect, we have had difficulties and frictions with some foreign governments who have defended the interests of their nationals, which they consider attacked by our Constitutional laws; or, on the contrary, with the large land-holders of Mexico.: One may also understand why we are constantly opposed by the Catholic clergy, who fear lest that at any moment they may lose their principal asset, the millions accumulated by the church in face of the express prohibition of the fundamental law of our country.

But in spite of all this the executive power is continuing its task of solving satisfactorily the difficulties and complications of all descriptions which are faced by the government, of protecting for all time our national possessions in order that the country, now and in the future, may enjoy a firm and solid prosperity. Despite the fact that we ap-

preciate that the present administrative labor of the government might be simplified and its complete success assured by contenting ourselves by solving merely the problems of the moment, relative to advancing our interior economy to the financial stability enjoyed by that of some other countries and by cementing the military and political power of the administration, by which the dangers of the road upon which we are traveling might be eliminated, the executive has elected, with the cooperation of the other two branches of the government, and the approval of the great popular masses, to formulate and legally perfect, which in part he has succeeded in doing, a system of progressive social reform, but of a strong nationalistic tendency; reforms which will constitute the sources of future general organic peace, of collective progress, of public wealth, and which consist in the adoption of methods and systems of advantaging ourselves of our national resources and of defending impartially the national rights. These are the same methods and systems which the most civilized nations have adopted and are following with benefit to their political and economic independence, and to their prosperity and their complete development.

All that I have said before demonstrates clearly that in its nationalistic labor, the government has not been inspired by selfish motives, by chauvinism or dislike to foreigners. The government has never refused to accept, for the better development of the country, the benefits of international collaboration. Neither does one care to say that the plans of action stipulated by the Constitutional law for the free, but prudent, exercise of its sovereignty should not reckon with foreign collaboration, restrained only in the sense of obliging it to espect our aws and to prevent this collaboration from being converted into

absorption, to the great damage or ruination of our national interests.

Happily, in all of the frictions which I have mentioned, and which have been provoked by Mexico's national policy, the chancellries of foreign governments have conscientiously studied our laws, comprehend our ideas and our true line of conduct, with the result that they have arrived at the point where they agree with the reason, the truth, the justice of our position and have reached an understanding of it.

Our desire has been to organize, once for all, the statutes proceeding from our Constitutional laws, to vitalize them justly and strictly, in order to render possible the development of our national riches and to prevent perpetual incomprehensions and erroneous interpretations of our legislation, in order that foreign capital may know to a scientific certainty what it may expect from Mexico. The Revolution has no belligerent intentions so far as international relations go, but its desire is to avert trouble by adopting for the benefit of foreigners in Mexico non-ambiguous legislation and to compel foreign capitalists to conform to Mexican laws. The internal policy of the government may be condensed into one phrase: We believe and we shall continue to believe that worth-while reforms in Mexico can be brought about only by exercising a tremendous effort in favor of the popular classes.

To insure the success of this it was necessary and essential, in the first place, to establish a strict, energetic and honest administration in all of the administrative departments, in order that the initial problem might be solved—the balancing of the budget. This was also necessary to enable us to take care of our foreign and domestic debt. It was necessary to provide a proper impetus to education, to agriculture and to industry and to resolve the difficult

question of monetary circulation in Mexico, which latter has been accomplished by the founding of the national bank of issue, on a gold basis. The success of our administrative reorganization and of our financial rehabilitation has been so surprising that at the end of the first year of the Presidential term the government had saved 70,000,000 pesos, with which capital it established the Bank of Mexico and later the Agricultural Credit Bank. In step with the financial reorganization the government proceeded to establish the bases of a wise, just and secure agricultural prosperity for the country, with especial attention to the question of irrigation and the construction of a system of automobile and cart roads, by this means facilitating the intensification of agricultural production. At the same time it was necessary to consolidate the situation created by the restitution of lands, in the form of commons, and by the division of the great, and hitherto comparatively unproductive, estates. To the end that the production of these lands under their new owners might be encouraged and to develop in the latter a sense of responsibility, the Mexican Congress approved the proposal of the executive to divide these commons among the individuals to whom they belonged, and to make the responsibility for cultivating these lands individual instead of collective.

Agricultural enterprise can only lead to disasterous results when it is carried on in an irregular and a disorganized manner and without a scientific basis, without the benefits of irrigation, when it is needed, and adequate means of communication with markets or shipping points. It frequently occurs that when a certain region produces abundant crops there are not means to realize on them profitably, through lack of transportation, capital or credit. In other regions, where the crops have failed, it is necessary to import foodstuffs from the interior, all

of which results in extreme poverty in the farming communities and an exaggerated disorder of the country's economic planes. In the future in Mexico the Bank of Mexico and the Agricultural Credit Bank, through their numerous branches, will contribute to the definite betterment of these conditions.

In the matter of public education, Mexico is proceeding according to the recommendation of the United States Bureau of Education and intensifying education among the farming classes, thereby notably improving the rural problem. Eventually, we are assured, not less than eighty percent of what the country produces will remain in Mexico and be used by the people.

In conclusion I would say that in reality Mexico has no religious problem. It is not true that the government is persecuting any religious body, or that it is opposed to the dogmas or practices of any religion. What is happening is that the Constitution of Mexico contains articles which the Catholic hierarchy considers to be incompatable with their constant and illegal intervention in politics and questions of state and in the economic powers of the state, exerted through their spiritual influence, which is the prime and most important factor of their domination in temporal matters. Until the clergy, by legal and Constitutional methods, obtains from the Congress and succeeds in having ratified by the state legislatures, a law repealing or amending the laws which are designed to break the political power of the clergy by transferring their huge properties to the nation, the government will comply with its elemental duty of preventing the church from imposing itself upon the immense liberal majority of the people of my country. The church cannot succeed in its aspirations so long as it forgets its high functions and continues to utilize the methods which it systematically has employed to

the present to obtain advantages of a material and political nature, which are incompatable with its purely religious functions. I firmly believe, however, that the articles of the Constitution to which the clergy objects will not be abolished or amended in many years.

MEXICO WOULD ACCEPT MEDIATION BY THE HAGUE

STATEMENTS MADE BY PRESIDENT CALLES IN JANUARY, 1926, TO A GROUP OF REPRESENTATIVE AMERICAN VISITORS WHO WENT TO MEXICO ON A GOOD WILL MISSION

During the audience with the Good Will Mission the President spoke textually as follows:

It is rare, indeed, for us to hear words of such a spiritual nature as those which have been uttered here today by the spokesman of your party. As a rule we are accustomed to hearing material interests discussed and in a more brusque form and to being threatened at every step. When we hear such expressions of justice and fraternity we are impelled to hope that it is possible to establish relations of true friendship between the American and Mexican peoples.

I am firmly of the conviction that so long as the relations betwen peoples are based exclusively upon material conquests, in complete forgetfulness of the spiritual values of humanity, the peace of the world will be nothing more than a fiction. For these reasons I feel comforted when I hear what has been said here, for it impels me to believe that there are still in the world some good men who are working for the establishment of harmony between all peoples of the earth upon a basis of justice and morality.

It also pleases me to know that this group has

been well received in the different parts of the country visited by them. It could hardly be otherwise, considering that your errand here is not a selfish one and that you have no material interests to serve. Both these circumstances provide me with absolute assurance that you have formed a clear appreciation of our situation and that you will do us justice in these moments which are so critical for Mexico.

You will always be received here as cordially as you have been, because our arms are always open to men of good will. If you desire to exchange impressions with me upon the condition of my country and upon the problems which we are solving, I am at your orders. You may be sure that I shall tell you the truth.

Undoubtedly, as you suggest, the cause of the rebels who are seeking to overthrow my government will be strengthened should the United States withdraw its recognition from Mexico. The enemies of my government may be classified in three groups: the Roman Catholic clergy, various political groups and the reactionary forces which see, in a rupture of relations with the United States, an opportunity to gain their own ends and who would pretend to regard the withdrawal of recognition in the light of an approval by the United States of their activities against this government and its institutions. What has already happened is that the Catholic clergy has incited various groups of fanatics to rebellion. Outbreaks have taken place in some parts of the country, which the government is energetically punishing.

The regrettable feature of this situation is that these persons who are being urged to rebellion are, as a rule, ignorant men. They are the ones who will suffer the consequences, as the really responsible trouble-makers carefully keep themselves under cover.

The Mexican politicians who are at present refuged in the United States are also active and are trying to obtain elements of war to ship into Mexico. But you may be absolutely certain that the government is in a position to maintain itself, regardless of whatever opposition may be brought against it.

So far as Nicaragua is concerned, the Government of Mexico differs from that of the United States on the Nicaraguan question for reasons of a moral nature. After an existence there of many years of tyranny personified by the Chamorra and the Adolfo Diaz families, a constitutional government was established, as the result of a popular election. This government, represented by President Solorzano and Vice-President Sacasa, was legally constituted. It was a government which possessed all of the characteristics of legality. It was developing its activities in complete tranquility and exerting itself to better the condition of the people of the country. This was the situation when one of the old dictators of the country, who was dissatisfied with the situation, rebelled. This led to a conflict between the interests headed by the reactionaries and by Vice-President Sacasa, who represented the legal government. Two governments have been established there, one of violence and one of legality. Mexico has recognized the legal government. This indicates our judgment upon the Nicaraguan situation.

One of you gentlemen has asked me what application of the arbitration article in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo might be made in face of the danger of war between Mexico and the United States. I cannot answer that question without studying the treaty, but I suggest that the inquiry be made to the Minister of Foreign Relations.

Yes, if necessary we shall gladly accept the media-

tion of The Hague or of any other tribunal of international arbitration in the matters which are in dispute between Mexico and the United States, although in this procedure there lies a potential danger to the sovereignty of nations. Proceedings of this nature always offer fatal menaces to the liberty and sovereignty of nations. It is always dangerous for a country to allow outside nations to intervene in cases where a nation in the rightful exercise of its sovereignty, enacts laws which it regards as necessary and convenient for its security or welfare. It is also dangerous to submit such matters to arbitration, considering that sad experience has shown and we know that history has demonstrated with complete clarity, that in these international courts the strong nations always dominate. But, if it is necessary to make the sacrifice to avert more serious trouble for both countries, despite the risks which I have mentioned, we have no objection to submitting our case before a tribunal of arbitration. Between two evils, it is always best to choose the lesser.

Mexico wishes the people of the United States to know that it is clear as noonday that Mexico in the present crisis has justice with her; that the trouble is not between the people of the United States and the people of Mexico, but between the people of Mexico and a small group of American capitalists who are trying to induce the Department of State to aid them by force. These difficulties are not of a moral character, nor of a nature which fundamentally affects the honor of either of the two countries. Neither has given offense to the other. The true difficulty lies in oil. It is an abstract difficulty created by the laws of Mexico which the oil companies insist upon ignoring and which do not injure the oil industry or the interests of the oil companies in the slightest degree. I say that the

difficulty is abstract, because the point upon which the oil companies base their refusal to abide by our laws is based upon the old conception of the Roman law of the absolute ownership of property. Our legislation confirms and recognizes subsoil rights acquired before the promulgation of the Constitution of 1917 for a term of fifty years. If, at the expiration of this time, oil is being produced from any of the properties involved, an extension of thirty years more is provided for. That is to say, subsoil rights are recognized for a total period of eighty years.

I ask any of you gentlemen present if you know of any oil well that has been in production for eighty years, in the history of the oil industry? The oil companies insist that we are restricting the term of ownership of their property, when we recognize their ownership rights for eighty years. Who knows what will happen in eighty years? Probably by that time the actual organization of society and humanity will have changed altogether. Possibly property rights will be organized upon altogether a different basis. I believe that the term fixed provides ample protection for the oil interests. This is the basis of the oil controversy. The oil people are unable to sustain their contention on the points which we are discussing on any ground, either legal or moral or from the standpoint of their own interests.

The oil industrial, I understand, is interested in knowing whether, leaving to one side abstract precepts, under certain legislation it is possible for him to make money, whether the law places him in a position to work without encountering unsurmountable obstacles and to enjoy the fruits of his labor for a period, within which it has been scientifically demonstrated it is possible for him to exploit the petroleum which his property may contain.

The only right, apparently, which now exists in

the world is the right of force, and this right does not regard the rights of the people. For the defense of all interests, whether they be national or foreign, the laws of a country set down the procedures to be followed to make this defense effective. Only in cases of denial of justice have foreign governments the actual right of making representations before our government and I believe that this is the universal procedure. Our courts are ready to intervene to protect the interests of such foreigners who consider themselves aggrieved by the operation of our laws.

NEW YEAR MESSAGE TO THE MEXICAN PEOPLE, JANUARY 1, 1927

In pursuance with the practice established a year ago, I take advantage of the New Year to send a cordial greeting to the people of Mexico and to inform them directly concerning the general situation of the country, the work of the government and the objects which have been sought by the executive.

In following the example of the most highly civilized countries of the world in seeking successfully their economic and political independence and their prosperity and full development, by the adoption of methods and systems for the utilization of our natural resources and the defense of our just national rights, the government has encountered the lack of confidence and the resistance which the implanation of all innovations naturally provokes, and been compelled to cope with internal and external difficulties. The policy of strict compliance with the application of, our laws has also necessarily invited the opposition of strong antagonistic forces. But fortunately the points of controversy with other governments has been dealt with by methods and according to procedures appropriate to a serene technical discussion. Foreign objections and opposition have not fundamentally altered the peaceful relations of Mexico with her neighbors, and the government has been able to comply strictly with all of its domestic and foreign obligations without interference with the reconstructive activities which have been carried on by me since I took charge of the government.

Hence, despite serious economic obstacles created by complementary and intricate causes, all of a social and political nature, it is possible for me to affirm that during the past year financial stability has been brought about by drastic economical and administrative measures. The extensive educational programme mapped out for 1926 has been carried on. The central agricultural schools have been constructed as they were projected. Some of the irrigation works have been completed and placed in operation and plans have been laid for constructing others during the present year. The reorganization and reequipment of the army has been continued and the work of reorganizing the administrative departments of the government has not been halted. All these, working together, have enabled the executive to accomplish important progress toward the economic betterment of the community and the moral and social uplifting of the people, which constitutes the object most vehemently striven for by the present government.

Unfortunately, these projects for the redemption and the economic and social betterment of the masses of Mexico, without detriment to the just rights and prosperity of the privileged classes, either through bad faith or the malice of selfish interests or lack of a proper understanding of the situation, have continued to be interpreted as manifestations of a destructive tendency in the government. By a rancorous press campaign it has been sought to present Mexico as emulating or sustaining exotic systems of government and as conducting both at home and abroad a propaganda in favor of political and social systems which are absolutely foreign to our methods and our tendencies.

Firm in my conviction that eventually the truth would prevail, I have continued my work serenely, without preoccupying myself with calumnies or with

rumors. I have limited myself to stating, when occasion served, that our problems, which essentially are the same as those of any people who are in a state of evolution, presented phases peculiar to Mexico and that for this reason it would be illogical for us to adopt the exotic methods of which we are accused. As to the usefulness of these methods, in an ambient outside of Mexico, it is impossible for us to judge, but I am very certain that they do not meet the conditions which exist in our country nor correspond to our Constitutional political organizations or to my consistent acts as executive.

It is natural, when one considers the resistance logically to be expected from the antagonistic forces and interests to which I have previously alluded, that an unjust lack of confidence has been produced abroad, notwithstanding the fact that the policy adopted by my government has not damaged any foreign interest and despite my reiterated intention of not construing the laws of my country in a manner to harm such foreign interests as had established themselves in Mexico prior to the enaction of the laws in question and which obey the interpretation which might be placed upon these laws by the Federal Supreme Court. I have insisted that only the inspired press campaign of our enemies and the natural timidity of capital could restrain or delay the benefits proceeding from a collaboration between Mexico and other countries, the moral energy and capital of which would always be welcomed in Mexico, restricted only by the necessity of respecting our laws and limited only by proper measures to prevent collaboration from being translated into absorption, to the prejudice of our national interests.

I take this opportunity to repeat, ten months after the initiation by the Catholic hierarchy in Mexico of their defiance of the laws of Mexico, as I have expressed from the beginning and which opinion

has not been modified by the sometimes rebellious or seditious attitude of the clergy, that the present government has not sought, nor will it seek, to combat the exercise or the development of any religious activity; that questions of faith or creed or dogma are absolutely without the jurisdiction and the aims of the government; that I have the same sincere respect for all manifestations of conscience or of religious creed and that it is a foolish fable, imagined by the Catholic clergy, that the government has at any time sought to combat in any manner or to destroy any religious faith.

In this matter, as in all others which have for their object, or which have originated in, resistance to the law, or the offering of difficulties to the reconstructive action of the government, I have sought, and succeeded in seeing to it, that our course of strictly applying the law to the activities of our enemies should rigidly be adhered to. I have maintained our position on a plane of perfect serenity and have not permitted the conduct of doctrine or of law, which has been followed and ordained by the government, to be obscured by passion, by a spirit of reprisal or by political rancor.

The cooperation of the other powers of the government and the valuable aid to order and respect to the law rendered by the national army have enabled and surely will continue to enable the country to emerge triumphantly from this true epoch of trial. Despite the criminal efforts which have been made to throw the country into civil turmoil and to seduce from their duty isolated members of the army, which is the support of safety and national rights, all of those who compose the army organization have to the present maintained themselves in perfect discipline and have confined themselves to their legitimate sphere of action as prescribed by the law. The government does not doubt that the

army will continue by its attitude to increase its own prestige and that of the country. But should personal interests and rancors, intent upon reopening a cycle of civil war, endeavor to cause fresh treasons to blot the fame of what should be the highest and most noble institution of Mexico, the government is absolutely certain that those who are culpable of such acts will be promptly and justly punished.

In my last New Year's message, in the interest of the ample moral and material development of the country and the collective welfare of the people, I appealed in behalf of the government for the frank cooperation of all of the citizens and exhorted them to stand by the government and forget grudges and personal ambitions, with their thoughts fixed upon the well-being and prosperity of the country.

The passions and ancient hatreds, stirred up during the past year by evil-doers, by men without consciences, or by those who make play in behalf of their own or foreign interests, causes it to appear utopian, perhaps, for me to make a similar call at this time. But placing the welfare of Mexico above all else, I insist upon doing so, in order that those who can may redeem themselves from evil influences and that those who are capable, through generosity or patriotic impulse, of liberating themselves from the weight of their prejudices, of their own selfish interests or from their rancors, may unite with us and accept as legitimate our aspirations for the just uplifting of the masses of our country for whom we have fought and for whom we are disposed to continue to fight, under the conviction that only through the improvement of the Mexican masses can the basis be laid of a definite organic peace and the prosperity and development of the whole Mexican family be established.

THE MISSION OF THE MEXICAN ARMY

(Address at the re-opening of the new Military College)

As the Secretary of War has said in his statement of reasons for the creation of the new Military College, in order to make good soldiers, but better citizens, it was necessary to reform not only the plant of the college but the courses of study, to bring this institution in consonance with prevailing revolutionary educational, military and social ideas.

The physical changes which have been accomplished are apparent to all and most of us are equally familiar with the new pedagogical, social and administrative order which has been adopted. But we cannot congratulate ourselves upon having improved the physical condition of the college, or feel satisfied that we have complied with our duty as governors and revolutionists by constructing all these modern appliances, or rest content at having laid down a well considered plan of study and interior regulation which embody our ideas, if we have not also taken into account the human element which forms the soul and body of this institution, which are conditions necessary to insure the success of this work; unless we see to it that those who graduate from here as experts in the art of war preserve all their characteristics as men, without departing in the slightest degree from the life and the sentiment of the nation; that while they are versed in military tactics and technique and prepared to follow the hazardous career of arms they

shall above and before all remain servants of the nation, conscious that it is their duty as armed citizens, as sons of the people, to fight against those who seek to oppress or to strangle the true aspirations of the people; never to think of allowing themselves to constitute a privileged oligarchy to frustrate the will of the great majority and to contribute by their support to the defense of governments really representative of the cause of the people, to the formation of a greater, happier and more respected Mexico.

Discipline is needed, it is true; and iron discipline, because only he who knows how to obey is qualified to command, but not a discipline which seeks to annihiliate the spirit and to create automatons, but a discipline which tends to produce men who have learned what is their duty and who possess a complete consciousness of it. Because the men whom they command are their brothers in thought and in sentiment, and because through the discipline by which they learn the necessity of directing precise technical movements in any condition of warfare they will also learn when occasion requires how for the moment to abdicate their personality and their individual will, when this individual abdication is demanded by the welfare of the collective will and conscience.

This Military College is not, in essence, an establishment which differs in any way from the other institutions in which the government is trying to educate the new generation of the country. The only difference between the Military College and the rural schools, the agricultural schools, the industrial schools or the universities lies in the varying courses of study. But in all these schools, from the Military College to the smallest rural school, hidden away in a corner of the mountains, we are seeking to turn out men who shall learn, from their childhood, that

they have a social mission with which later on in their mature years they must comply—to serve others. This is to say, not to expend their forces entirely for their own economic, cultural or social betterment, but to abdicate a good share of their powers to their fellows, some to augmenting the production of the country, others to imparting the knowledge which they possess, others to elevating the moral condition of the people, according to their lights, and the graduates of the military schools to lending the force of their arms and, if necessary, giving their lives to insure the social uplifting of the majority which, in the last extreme, is the aim and the justification of the revolutionary movement in Mexico.

In order to succeed in this, all of you, chiefs, officials and students of the new Military College, must work with every enthusiasm and in full consciousness of the duties of the day which are imposed upon you, to labor for the social, not the political, welfare of our country.

The tradition of duty, of prestige or of glory of an institution does not depend upon where it is situated, its name or the times. If, like the cadets of '47, you comply with your duty and respond to the present social necessities of the life of our Mexico, the young eagles of Chapultepec will nest here also, in Popotla. (This refers to the military cadets who in 1847 fell in defending the rock of Chapultepec, where formerly the Military College was situated, against the American forces).

ADDRESS IN NEW YORK

(Delivered at the banquet given in honor of General Calles, as President-Elect of Mexico, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, on October 28, 1924, by The American Exporters and Manufacturers Association)

Unquestionably the world has now attained to an understanding of social and political problems far beyond the former rigid and selfish conception of them which generally prevailed, especially among business men. Ample proof of this is supplied by the addresses which have been made at this entertainment which you have been good enough to offer me and which have been marked by a noble sentiment of humanitarianism and an intelligent comprehension of the significance of the investment of capital in a foreign country, when it is made honorably, with good will and in a spirit of mutual respect, both for the rights of capital and the rights and laws of the countries into which it flows.

Scarcely two weeks ago in the capital of Mexico, Ambassador Sheffield, the new representative of the White House to my country, in presenting his credentials dispensed to a certain extent with the empty set forms of diplomatic expression and in outlining what the United States desired of Mexico and what Mexico might expect from the United States, said in effect: "We seek no rights, privileges, nor powers which we are not disposed to grant freely." To which President Obregon fittingly replied that this phrase of Ambassador Sheffield "amply satisfied the

spirit of those countries which, like Mexico, strong only in the power of their ideals, seek to live peacefully with their neighbors, jealous of their sovereign rights and respecting the rights of the peoples of the earth."

This is sufficient to express the warm welcome, legal protection and friendly cooperation which Mexico is prepared to extend all men of good will who wish to bring to our country their always acceptable contingent of capital or energy. Providing they are prepared to do this and respect our sovereignty and our laws on a basis of not demanding one-sided rights, privileges or powers, they will be received as brothers, as Mexico traditionally has always received and always will receive them.

In view of the fact that Mr. Nichols, in a spirit of ample generosity (which is especially laudable when displayed by capitalists), has expressed a desire for the people of the United States to cooperate with Mexico "in other ways than by merely investing capital," and also considering that in his remarks and in those of Ambassador Gerard and Mr. Gary were included sentiments of real humanitarianism and international amity, I also shall digress a trifle from the previously mentioned limits of set diplomatic forms to present to this gathering of business men and capitalists who, to their own credit and that of the country which they represent, think of something more than the dollar, one of the aspects of our social problem in Mexico, the solution of which has provoked so much hostility and erected such mountains of opposition and calumny against the revolutionary governments of the country.

We have in our country, gentlemen, no less than 12,000,000 men who are living on the fringe of civilization, who not only do not know nor enjoy the material gifts and the spiritual advantages which

are the patrimony of all of the American people, but who before our fight for social liberation saw no possibility of their lot being bettered in the future because of the state of existence to which they had been condemned by political oppression and by the selfishness of a small privileged social caste.

And as these are men like ourselves; men who, clad in rags and under the old order doomed to perpetual misery, have constructed our nationality, who have made our history and forged our glories and conquered our liberties with their blood, with their sacrifices, with their miseries and with their perpetual disillusionments; and as we must not let them perish and as we have no intention of doing so, elemental justice and patriotism and even selfish interests and the fair name of humanity demand that we take the road to bring about their social and economic elevation. In order to accomplish this it is necessary for us to apply honestly and energetically the few reform laws which we have been enabled to enact through so many years of social and political turmoil and to utilize the methods of government inspired by those laws, not for the exclusive benefit of the few, but for the well-being of all of our people.

Although it is not necessary for me to employ the argument which I am about to use in order to obtain the cooperation of generous-minded men, like yourselves, in this humanitarian work, it is worth while to point out here the enormous material advantages, translated into profits of hundreds of millions of dollars for your commerce and industries, which will follow in the train of the economic deliverance of these 12,000,000 submerged Mexicans, an economic well-being which will create a thousand new items of consumption and production. If today the American Exporters and Manufacturers

Association of this marvelous country considers Mexico in its present state as a magnificent market, what will it be when we succeed in making Mexico a country wherein, on a basis of equity and justice for all classes, the rural and the industrial workers who today purchase nothing because they have nothing and have scarcely enough to eat, attain to a social and economic position similar to that enjoyed by the American people?

With these expression, which I have uttered with the sincerity with which I am accustomed to invest all my acts, I believe that I have told you with sufficient clearness that my government will not omit any sacrifice or any force to bring about the betterment of the condition of the working classes. I invite capitalists and industrials of good will—not aggressive and piratical capital—to assist me in the reconstructive development of a people.

With a sentiment which touched me, Mr. Nichols, in his mention of the homage paid by some American visitors to Mexico to the monument which stands today to the boy heroes of Chapultepec, referred to the inscription thereon which conveys the pious hope that the mountains of America may fall before the termination of the friendship which exists between the sister republics of this hemisphere.

We thoroughly understand the spirit of fraternity which inspired this noble impulse to honor those whom we in Mexico are proud to term "The Young Eagles of '47" and we understand it well, for we also have always implanted in the hearts of the youth of Mexico respect and veneration for all men who have given expression to altruistic impulses and elevated thoughts or who have strictly complied with their duty. Thus you will find in Mexico, graven by the sides of the names of Hidalgo and Morelos, the names of Washington and Lincoln, figures high-placed in history, whose fame is not the

possession of one people alone, but who belong to and honor Humanity. Hence, sweeping aside the wave of prejudices, born of incomprehension or of ignorance, we have sowed and we always shall sow in our country the seeds of love and of respect for all peoples. We believe that in this manner we contribute our grain of sand to the great work of universal confraternity and union and we hope that some day we shall see crumble to dust, not the mountains of our America, but the more formidable and craggy mountains which selfishness rears in the consciences of so many of us.

EXTRACTS FROM PRESIDENT CALLES' MESSAGE TO THE MEXICAN CONGRESS

OPENING OF THE SECOND PERIOD OF THE XXXII SESSION, SEPTEMBER 1, 1927

Senators and Deputies: The requirements of Article 69 of the Constitution bring me again before you for the purpose of rendering an account of the administrative work of the Federal Executive during the period from September 1st, 1926, to August 31st of the current year. In the exacting labor of the executive office under my charge during the third year of my administration there have not been lacking grave difficulties and serious obstacles which have been created or sustained with the object of impeding or destroying the political programme which, when I was a candidate for President, I caused to be made a matter of general public knowledge. But I am able to state with satisfaction that in the battle which we are fighting for the realization of the national aspirations it has been possible for me to maintain firmly my obligation to serve the great and sacred interests of the country and to count with the approval of a public opinion fully imbued with the anxiety for reform which stirs the consciences of the Mexican people and which controls the actions and dispositions of a government which is inspired and elevated by the praiseworthy intention of procuring the general betterment of the country.

In the Diario Oficial of January 18th of the present year there was published the law regulating Article 130 of the Constitution, relating to acts of religious worship. This law, which was enacted by the present Congress upon the initiative of the Executive, went no further than to confirm and regulate the precepts of the said Article 130.

Strict compliance with the law has been enforced by the Minister of Gobernacion. It may be said that the religious conflict, caused by the rebellion of the clergy, has now practically ended, inasmuch as all the laws, orders and regulations of the Ministry of Gobernacion have been made effective, notwithstanding the vain resistance of the Catholic clergy, which merely served the purpose of providing a patent demonstration that the Mexican people, indifferent to the suspension of worship by the church authorities, have pronounced their verdict in condemnation of the conduct of those who rebelled against the institutions of the Republic.

According as such applications were made by Federal, state and local officials for the use of buildings held by the clergy, various of these edifices have been utilized for public purposes, in accordance with Article 27 of the Constitution.

Permission to exercise their profession has been given to all clergymen and members of religious bodies who have subjected themselves to the laws.

In general, it may be said that the church situation as it existed at the end of last year and the commencement of the present year has almost ceased to prevail. This does not signify that the government is not still disposed at any moment to suffocate any rebellous movement against, or public repudiation of, the laws relating to religious affairs.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

The campaign for the election of the next President has begun earlier than usual, and since last

July three distinct candidates have been conducting their canvasses. Until the present the campaign has been conducted in an orderly manner without serious incidents. The federal government expects that this condition will prevail for the remainder of the campaign and provide a demonstration of the progress made by the Mexican people in the development of civic consciousness and the ability to conduct their elections peacefully. On this subject the federal government can only say that it is firmly resolved to impede any attempts which may be made to create disorders because of the election, at the same time declaring its intention of maintaining complete neutrality and impartiality in the contest and causing to be respected absolutely the popular will.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Contrary aspects in recent months have marked the international relations of Mexico. Some of them provide most flattering evidence of the fruits of our carefully cultivated friendship with various nations while others reveal the existence of menacing crises created by the jealous defense of our great national interests, consonant with the social evolution of the country.

Thus, for example, the traditional pure and noble family ties which unite us with the Latin American nations have not for an instant relaxed, because of the fact that these countries more and more comprehend the analogy which exists between their mutual problems and by experience have grown to appreciate the importance of their own necessities. United by the constant battle to reaffirm the sovereign rights which are theirs as free peoples, each day and with more firmness they realize the desirability of creating a cordial understanding which should bind us together in prosperity and in adversity. Mexico, whose international personality on

this continent serves the purpose of a faithful barometer for the observation of social problems, sustains this difficult and dangerous role with steadfast firmness, and without the basis of military and financial power to supply it with material force, employing only its own spirit, encouraged by the inherent right possessed by sovereign nations and strengthened by the national demand for democracy, liberty and justice.

Fortified in its own convictions of right, Mexico has rejected, does reject and I have faith that she always will reject any attempt at employing aggressive measures for the maintenance of good relations with her neighbors. But at the same time I will not admit that, for the sake of maintaining these good relations, she will submit herself to improper standards, subversive of the national dignity, or grant privileges which are opposed to the interests of the Republic. We accept, and even desire, the cooperation of all foreigners, but this cooperation must be extended in harmony with the citizens of Mexico, who are the indisputable owners of their own country. We will deliver to friends and foreigners the hospitality of the nation, but without granting them privileges beyond those which our own nationals enjoy. We accept in good faith foreign capital and effort, but under the inflexible condition that the laws which Mexico imposes upon herself are obeyed and respected. These conceptions of justice, of law, of equity, which serve Mexico as constant standards in her relations with other countries, will be sustained by the executive office under my charge as irreproachable precepts which establish and control our international negotiations. If, as unfortunately it has in the past frequently occurred, obstacles are offered to the operation of these principles by material forces with which it is difficult for our country to contend, the national government will

continue to deal with them with a serene spirit, with rectitude and with patriotic determination and in the conviction that the future of the country depends upon the outcome of this battle for national rights and that the slightest weakening will defeat the attainment of those most noble ideals which have cost the fatherland so many painful sacrifices.

Despite the above declarations, it is nevertheless not the desire of the Executive to terminate this part of his address without adding that, to speak plainly, the relations with the United States, which are fundamentally important in our national life for obvious reasons based upon proximity and the extensive commercial relations of the two countries, have unfortunately assumed an indeterminate character, which frequently has manifested itself in disagreement and even culminated in controversy. Acts have taken place which are regarded by the Mexican Government as deplorable, inasmuch as they are in opposition to the national sentiment which desires a constant and cordial friendship with that great country, work injury to our commerce and impede our peaceful development. The fundamental difficulties with the Government of the United States, as is well known, are rooted in the application of the laws derived from Article 27 of the Constitution. Although, as to the present the disagreement with the Washington authorities has to do principally with the general aspect of the laws in question, no complaints have been presented to the Mexican Government based upon concrete acts which provide evidence of any aggressions or damages to foreign capital invested in the petroleum industry, the directors of which have been engaged in acts of rebellion against, and disobedience to, the law which it would be impossible for any independent country to tolerate. With respect to the application of the agrarian laws, which also have served

the United States Government as grounds of complaint, the situation has at times been difficult, for reasons similar to those mentioned above. This government has offered to consider concrete cases, if presented, equitably and justly and hopes to resolve them according to these principles, at the same time maintaining one of the most valued social conquests which the Mexican nation has attained. I am confident that at the proper time a spirit of good will and a cordial comprehension of our problems will soften the acerbities of this controversy between the two countries, which is still latent, and that this highly important matter will be finally arranged.

Finance and Public Credit

My previous message to the Congress was considerably elaborated, in the part relating to the Ministry of Finance and Public Credit, and included the financial data of 1925 and the first months of 1926. In that message I explained the application which was made of the surplus of 1924 and 1925, which reflected a healthy situation which induced the government to establish a policy of immediately utilizing the excess of receipts over expenses. This policy was continued during 1926, in which heavy disbursements and the disturbed economic condition of the country during the final months of the year created a deficit in the budget. During the fiscal period, as well as the current one, large sums were devoted to the construction of highways, important irrigation works, rural schools, etc., etc., without counting the appropriations made for the establishment of the Bank of Agricultural Credit and the banks for the assistance of the tillers of common lands, or the foreign and the interior debt service. Thus we abandoned the custom of regarding the federal income as an element destined merely to cover the routine public services and adopted a

system of profitably investing a part of our revenue in works of economic development, considering them as of fundamental and immediate importance for the well-being of the country.

Although we began the previous fiscal year with a balanced budget with probably receipts estimated at 315,700,000 pesos and expenses at 304,400,000 pesos, of which 63,200,000 pesos were devoted to the service of the public debt, nevertheless during the course of the same year, 1926, the estimates of expenses were increased by 51,400,000 pesos, not all of which was expended. The existence of a deficit is immediately apparent, therefore, which, although it was covered in part by extraordinary receipts which began to come in in July, created obligations amounting to 9,500,000 pesos. As the extraordinary revenues were less than the deficit, the treasury was obliged to delay the payment of various obligations due in order to take care of others which were provided for by the budget. These unpaid obligations accumulated until on December 31 last they amounted to 23,800,000 pesos. On the same date the treasury applied upon this sum 10,000,000 pesos which it had at its command and 2,500,000 pesos, the latter represented by securities pledged with the Bank of Mexico for a loan contracted in 1926. All of the details of this transaction may be found in the report to the Congress by the Minister of Finance.

In its budget for 1927 the Ministry of Finance estimated the probable revenues at 308,000,000 pesos with disbursements at 216,900,000 pesos, plus 70,000,000 pesos for the public debt service. As these estimates did not include sums for works connected with the government's plans for the economic development of the country and as the tentative budgets submitted by various departments were later amplified, the final figure of the budget showed esti-

mated expenses of 326,900,000 pesos, of which 228,-800,000 pesos were devoted to the administrative departments of the government, 30,000,000 pesos for irrigation works and roads and 68,100,000 for the public debt service. Under these conditions and in order theoretically to balance the budget, the Finance Minister prepared a supplementary estimate of receipts totalling 334,300,000 pesos, an increase of 26,300,000 pesos.

However, owing to the perturbed economic condition of the country during the last months of 1926 and considering that my administration was entering upon its second two-year period—in which there was reason to apprehend difficulties of all natures—the government calculated upon a possible reduction in the normal revenues, principally in the supplementary estimates of receipts, inasmuch as this was based upon the creation of new taxes and increases in those already existing. Fears were entertained that the budget plans might be frustrated. Consequently, as a matter of precaution, the Finance Minister placed in operation a system whereby it was rendered possible for him to know in advance the approximate situation of the treasury at the end of each month and on December 31 of this year.

As these figures indicated a probable deficit, owing to the decrease in the anticipated revenues and the necessity of liquidating obligations remaining over from from 1926 and covering the heavy charges of the public debt service, the Executive summoned a meeting of the Cabinet at which it was agreed to reduce the personnel and expenses of almost all of the federal departments and postpone the payment of certain items included in the interior and floating debts, with the object of reducing the large deficit which was foreshadowed and which it was impossible to avoid altogether without serious interference with the public services. Through these econ-

omies and notwithstanding a decrease of 20,800,000 pesos in the normal receipts and of 5,000,000 pesos in the schedule of supplementary receipts during the first six months of the year, the deficit has been held down to 6,000,000 pesos, without including the unpaid obligations of 1826. Despite the seriousness of the financial situation the government has carried on the necessary military operations, has paid the army regularly and on time, has continued its programme of public improvements, has covered the foreign debt service and punctually paid the salaries of the government employes.

Aside from the above, the Finance Minister calculates that the deficit for the second half of the year will reach 19,000,000 pesos. He reckons that the decrease in the normal revenues for that period will be 10 percent less than originally estimated and that the decrease in the estimated supplementary revenues will be more than ten percent.

It will be seen that the revenues have suffered a very marked reduction, especially those proceeding from taxes and imports, exports and the exploitation of natural resources. On the other hand, it may be said that that, as was predicted by the treasury officials, the income tax has become firmly implanted in our fiscal system. The falling off in imports is unquestionably due to the sluggishness of the activities connected with national production, but it also may be charged to a psychological depression in business. The decrease in the exportation and exploitation of natural resources may be attributed directly to the fact that the petroleum companies have lessened their operations, as compared with 1925. The prospect that the revenues from oil will increase are not encouraging. While in 1922 the receipts from the oil industry represent 30 percent of the federal revenues, 19 per cent in 1924 and 11 percent in 1926, in the current year they

will not reach 8 percent. Possibly this decrease will continue during the next year.

In view of the fact that the collection of the income tax will be better administered, in that the process of handling it will be perfected without decreasing its productivity, and also in the expectation that the business depression may be overcome in response to timely measures to be taken by the government, the Executive will prepare, with proper care, the budget for 1928, to which the administrative activities of the federal departments will be subjected. The budget figures will be set at a minimum, which is fitting in a country of sparse resources, but without abandoning the government's programme of economic development. The government believes it to be sound fiscal policy to omit from these calculations the estimated revenues from the petroleum industry, owing to the uncertainty of their character and considering that the future activities of the industry depend upon circumstances foreign to the action of the government.

It is the intention of the government to cover scrupuously the public debt service so long as the economic capacity of the country does not necessitate that another road be taken. While it is true that the critical state of the treasury has compelled a delay in the payments upon the interior debt, the agreement with the International Bankers Committee has been lived up to. At the beginning of the current year $5,346,422 U. S. was paid in interest upon the foreign debt for the second half of 1926 and $2,674,097 U. S. on the debt of the National Railways for the same period. On account of the interest upon the foreign debt from January to June, 1927, the Committee was paid $5,513,955 U. S., while the corresponding payment upon the railroad debt was postponed in the expectation that the company would be able to cover it directly. It

is important to state that, because of the diminution of the petroleum revenues, it was necessary in January last to solicit from the Bankers Committee a loan of $718,811.89 U. S., guaranteed by the Bank of Mexico, to cover the deficiency on interest on the railroad debt for the last half of 1926. In July last another loan was obtained from the Committee, amounting to $2,000,000 U. S., to make up the payment due upon the foreign debt for the first sx months of the present year. Inasmuch as this last loan was negotiated at 6 percent and with no security other than the good faith of the government and the credit of the nation, the Executive considers the fact to reflect favorably upon the credit standing of the country abroad.

Certificates without interest have been issued by the federal treasury, to the payment of which $950,000 U. S. has been applied, which represents the concellation of 4½ percent bonds of the Caja de Prestamos amounting to $2,500,000 U. S.

It has been necessary for the government to postpone payment upon a majority of the obligations comprised in the interior debt, especially those owing to the banks. In principle, the banks have agreed that their credits be spread over the budgets from 1928 to 1934 inclusive, which relieves the budget for the present year and enables it to be balanced in 1928. Under ths arrangement the heaviest payments are to be made in future years.

AGRICULTURE

The work which has been developed by the Executive, through the Ministry of Agriculture and Fomento, has been inspired by the elevated conceptions of the precepts of our Constitution, according to which we are obliged to make a just distribution of the natural resources of the country, in order

that the best advantage possible may be taken of them to the greatest benefit of the nation.

The initiation of the concrete resolution of the problems which affect the general interests of the nation, according to the principles outlined above, is in accordance with a perfectly defined plan, the fundamental points of which include a new distribution of the land by dividing it among, and restoring it to, the villages; breaking up the large haciendas, colonization, the organization of agricultural production and expoitation, rural sanitation, irrigation, rural credits, agricultural education, etc., etc. —all points upon the realization of which is founded the hope, in which I firmly confide, of a glorious future for our country.

Agricultural Banks

These institutions which were inaugurated in May, 1926, in the States of Hidalgo, Guanajuato, Michoacan and Durango have made loans to holders of common property amounting to 552,680 pesos. In connection with these banks there are in operation 253 cooperative societies with 18,700 members who have subscribed to shares of the value of 221,-490 pesos. The operations of these banks have been completely successful, to the satisfaction of those who have benefited by the distribution of profits, especially in Mixquiahula, Hidalgo, where the shareholders of the local institution have received 40,000 pesos from the profits of one season's cultivation of crops.

These institutions have freed their subscribers from the iniquitous exploitation of middle-men, to whom formerly they were compelled to resort for loans in anticipation of their crops, which were only ganted upon usurious terms. These banks make crop loans to the small farmer at a low rate of interest and provide him with money, implements

and seeds, upon the sole condition that they be applied exclusively to the cultivation and croppng of his farm. It should be noted that in almost every case, the farmers in their operations with these banks have completed their transactions with balances in their favor which have been applied to their acounts.

Central Agricultural Schools

Only one of these institutions was in operation a year ago, in the State of Guanajuato. Since then three additional schools have been established, one in Hidalgo, the second in Michoacan and the third in Durango. No effort has been omitted to provide these schools with everything necessary for their organization and purposes. They are equipped with competent teaching forces, modern machinery and implements, live stock and selected seeds. Connected with each are experimental farms of 500 hectareas of irrigated land. Every school has a library, suitable living accommodations for the students, baths, sport fields, etc. Three additional schools will be opened this year in the States of Chihuahua, Mexico and Puebla.

National Agrarian Commission

This department has been organized and regulated in the best possible manner. Its personnel has been selected with the object of ridding the department of politics, which seriously interferes with the proper solution of the agrarian problem. The resume of its work follows: It has dealt with 380 court appeals against its decisions and asked for revisions of court judgments in 249 cases. In agrarian matters the State Governors have made decisions in 435 cases and the Federal Executive in 489 cases. Provisional possession of lands has been given to 37,808 families and permanent possession to 80,123 families, the latter involving 1,153,218

hectareas. Sixty-two applications have been made for water rights. To the persons interested in these applications, distribution of water has been made to 22, the use of water has been granted to 54, provisional ownership of water has been allowed to 17 and definite ownership to 42. The total volume of water distributed provisionally was 92,211 square meters, definitely 70,102 square meters and by consent 67,306 square meters.

I consider it of interest to inform the Congress that the difficulties caused by the application and regulation of Article 27 of the Constitution, relating to the distribution and restitution of lands and waters, which regulations were promulgated by the Executive on April 22 of this year by virtue of the extraordinary faculties conceded to him, have obliged me to consider the necessity of reforming the law in such a manner that it will not only meet the necessities of the villages, but also to establish and fix the objects and proceedings under the law as to avert the fatal results of prolonged, costly and unnecessary litigation to defeat the upright intentions of the Executive. The unanimous opinion of the field workers also demands legslation more in accordance with the principles established by the fundamental law of the Republic. In accordance, therefore, with the extraordinary facilities given by this Congress to the Executive, I shall proceed to a study of the indispensable reforms to the law of April 23, in conformity with the project which is now before the Agrarian Commission of the Congress.

Indemnities for Lands Expropriated for Agrarian Purposes

When this department was opened on September 1, 1925, 70 applications for indemnity were presented. The total number received up to July 31

last, was 699, of which 574 were filed by nationals and 125 by foreigners. Eighty of these demands, which covered 48,602 hectareas of expropriated property, have been liquidated by the payment of 7,-616,300 pesos in bonds of the Public Agrarian Debt. Various demands have been rejected and others are pending in the courts. Properties numbering 154 have been valued and within a few days 74 additional demands will be liquidated. The notable increase in the work of the department is owing to the fact that the land-owners affected have finally become convinced of the serious intention of the government to enforce the law and of its promptness in handling their demands and affording them means of collecting their indemnities.

National Irrigation Commission

Emphasis must be laid upon the work of the National Irrigation Commission in view of the fact that it is evident that the economic future of our country, upon which its social, moral and political progress depends, rests principally upon the efficacious agricultural use of our land. This cannot be done without a complete and proper system of irrigation. This Commission has constructed the irrigation reservoirs of Santa Gertrudis, Tamaulipas; Don Martin, upon the Salado River in Coahuila and Nuevo Leon; Rio Mante, Tamaulipas; Guatimapé, Durango; Rio Santiago, Aguascalientes and Tepuxtepec, Michoacan. These works will provide irrigation for approximately 190,000 square hectareas (469,300 square acres.) Studies are in progress for making use of the waters of the Yaqui and Mayo Rivers in Sonora, the Conchos and San Benaventura Rivers in Chisuahua and the Sauceda River in Durango. Zones are also being irrigated with waters from the Tepeji River in Hidalgo and from the drainage canal of the valley of Mexico in the valley and in the Mezquital region of Hidalgo.

To the present the commission has expended the sum of 11,511,581.84 pesos, divided as follows: construction, machinery and equipment, 7,727,918.94 pesos; land and right, 2,495,582.69 pesos; studies and plans, 1,065,285.38 pesos; miscellaneous construction, 95,20.03 pesos; instruments, tools, etc., 127,675 pesos. The government's irrigation programme is not limited to the projects outlined above. It will be amplified in accordance with the national necessities and the financial power of the treasury. This is an enormous work. My desire is to sustain and continue it with the greatest enthusiasm and not to abandon it, but on the contrary, to intensify it day by day.

Industry, Commerce and Labor

The diverse circumstances which compelled the Federal Executive to adopt a resolute attitude in defense of the legitimate interests of the Mexican people during the past year, and which appreciably affected the economic conditions of the country, provide a severe test for this department. It emerged from it successfully. In each case it acted with firm judgment, but in a conciliatory manner, to reconcile the interests of the distinct social groups concerned without in the least degree sacrificing the national dignity and sovereignty. It is especially satisfactory to note that high significance attaches to the fact that, despite all the obstacles which were encountered, the programme of the government has been faithfully complied with. I will add merely that the resolution of the difficult problems confided to its attention has always been preceded by a serene and careful investigation, in order that it might proceed in every case with all confidence, and that this is the standard to which this department of the government intends to adhere in the future.

Difficulties having arisen as the result of the expiration of the existing contracts between the Mex-

ican Railway Company and its organized employes, the department was called in to mediate, which it did successfully. New contracts were made which explicitly set forth the mutual rights and obligations of the parties to them and established the principle that, under the terms of Article 123 of the Constitution, employes who lost their positions as the result of necessary reductions in personnel, must be properly indemnified.

The department has striven to obtain the maximum of safety and hygienic working conditions for the workers, to the end of enabling them to preserve their health and to prevent so far as possible occupational accidents. As a result, labor difficulties during the year were appreciably reduced, only 334 cases having been recorded.

Important work was done by our labor representatives abroad in the direction of bringing the workers of Mexico and of other countries in close touch with each other and in creating a better understanding outside of Mexico of our people and their just aspirations for moral and material improvement.

More than 41,000 workers applied to the department during the year for financial redress against their employers. Compensation was awarded to them to the amount of 688,975.25 pesos. The department also devoted much attention to the study of the prevailing rates of wages, in order to determine the minimum wage which would enable its recipient to live decently and comfortably; to providing jobs for the idle and to controlling with efficiency the multiple aspects of the important social function constituted by labor.

PETROLEUM DEPARTMENT

Despite the debate over the petroleum law of December 31, 1926, there were registered in this

Department 973 applications for petroleum concessions, of which 675 were confirmed and 308 were given preferential rights. The first provided protection to the owners of a total of 10,877,446 hectareas of land and the second 3,784,372 hectareas. The latter figures include land claimed by all the companies which have not manifested the holdings which they assert they acquired prior to 1917, regardless of the names in which rights are claimed. The rights which may be regarded as not complying with the law comprise only 527,027 hectareas, which are rights obtained prior to 1917, confirmation of which has not been applied for by the companies. Of the 147 companies operating in the country in December last, 125 have submitted to the new legislation and only 22 have declined to do so. This fact demonstrates the unjustifiable attitude assumed by the recalcitrant companies. The study and drafting of the new regulations for the operations of the petroleum industry, which will soon be promulgated, has been another of the important functions of the department. Its object is to bring about the scientific conservation and proper use of the petroleum resources of the country. It should be noted that the standards established by Mexico for the regulation of the industry, proceeding from the laws which have been so bitterly opposed, have commenced to be adopted even in the United States, the country which is most vigorous in its opposition to our laws.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Inasmuch as the Secretary of Education will tomorrow present a detailed report to the Congress, I shall limit myself to mentioning various considerations of a general nature and referring to the most interesting educational problems which we are endeavoring to solve.

As I have frequently stated since I became President, the constant philosophical thought which has guided the government in its educational work has tended toward placing the school in more intimate contact with the community, in order that the benefits of the former might not be alone confined to the student, but that they might be taken advantage of by the people and especially the industrial and rural masses.

It has been our steadfast endeavor to awaken and develop the economic potentialities of our people for the benefit of the collective welfare by imparting through the schools knowledge capable of immediate practical application. Consequently we have tried in all grades of our scholastic establishment to create a nexus between the schools and the community. Naturally, it has been by means of the rural schools, which come most closely in touch with the agrarian masses who have been isolated from the benefits of civilization, that we have especially sought to bring about this contact. But it must be confessed sincerely, in order to counteract any impression which may prevail that we imagine that we have already attained this end and that no new forces must be brought to bear in the future in this direction, that what we have thus far done consists of little more than essays in realism and in the reconstruction of society.

Although the principle of national education is now definitely established in Mexico in its various branches and activities, in accordance with its modern philosophical conception, so distinct from the merely instructive work which it formerly pursued, so long as we fail in perfecting a complete coordinated action and sustaining influence upon the rural masses, and especially upon the Indians, the efforts of the rural school, no matter how energetic and generous they may be, will continue to be weak

and insufficient, considering that in the work of civilization the scholastic element is only a minimum part.

In addition to the traditionally distinct activities of the school, that is to say, the study of language, writing, arithmetic, geography, etc., which is already an important feature of our rural schools, we are trying to teach the breeding, care and use of domestic animals, small industries, the making of clothing, objects of ornament, toys and furniture; the proper preparation of food, tanning, the weaving of cloth and serapes, the fabrication of pottery. We are trying, I repeat, to concentrate and reduce to practicability these non-traditional educational activities in accordance with the conditions and the means with which we have to cope, in order that they may exert a more intense and rapid influence upon the collective life of the people.

Notwithstanding the economies enforced upon the treasury, the federal government is now sustaining 3,433 rural school teachers and six agricultural missions. These teachers are experienced in agriculture, small industries, physical education, hygiene and the imparting of information useful for social action. The missions are bearing to the various parts of the country the civilizing agencies to which I previously referred. Nine Rural Normal Schools for the training of rural school teachers and their education along the lines indicated by the new social tendencies of the country, are developing an intensive work in isolated communities in which, in common with the rural schools, they are endeavoring to promote the collective cultural progress among adults by means of night, Saturday and Sunday classes. Their object is not merely to impart knowledge, but to stimulate new sources of production and improve the organization of existing ones. In a word, to elevate the standards of living among the Mexican people.

When the Attorney General created this department he had no doubt of its value. It affords me satisfaction to pay that his judgment was correct. Notwithstanding its scant personnel and appropriation, it has begun and concluded 158 proceedings affecting rural property, 749 affecting urban property and 47 relating to mortgages. As a result of these proceedings, which have been brought before the district and the Supreme Court judges, 225 rural and 1,443 urban properties, of an estimated value of 21,000,000 pesos, have been nationalized. This bureau also has obtained possession of credits and legacies in favor of the Catholic Church of a value of 1,000,000 pesos.

PUBLIC HEALTH

In view of the powers granted it under the new sanitary code, the department has extended the activities of the federal health service by installing in each state a sanitary delegation. Seventy-four offices have been established throughout the country, including the representations in the states, at the ports, on the frontier, dispensaries, etc. A congress of local sanitary authorities will be held in Mexico City during the present month for the purpose of standardizing the functions of the authorities in connection with the federal health service, endorsing the acts of the sanitary units and to plan an active campaign against venerial diseases. An indication of the enthusiastic manner in which invitations to this congress have been received by the state governments is indicated by the fact that some of the states have offered to permit the funds raised locally for sanitation to be administered by the federal health officials. In connection with these activities, this department has suggested to the

state governments the desirability of organizing sanitary units in each municipality. As a result approximately 1,000 of these units have thus far been organized. To combat infant mortality, advantage has been taken of the disinterested sympathies of the women of Mexico to form a corps of Volunteer Visiting Nurses. The Executive takes this opportunity to express his appreciation of the noble generosity with which the women have engaged in this crusade for infant hygiene. While the amount is not so large as the Executive would like to see it, although possibly it may be increased next year, the appropriation for the federal health service this year is 8,388,947.50 pesos, an increase of 3,28,643.30 pesos over the preceding year.

CONCLUSION

The characteristic which among public officials should be most highly estimated is that their actual deeds should be intimately related with the sincerity of their convictions. I have tried to mark all of my administrative acts with truth and sincerity. I have sought to comply strictly with the Constitutional law and to work with the other branches of the government and with the state governments in an atmosphere of mutual respect and in reciprocal observation of their orders and in harmony and in cordial understanding. While this has been his attitude with respect to domestic affairs, the President has likewise exerted especial efforts to strengthen the ties of friendship between the people of Mexico and those of other nations, according to the most elevated conceptions of decorum and dignity and always upon a basis of common and unequivocal demonstrations of respect to our sovereignty and to that of our neighbors.

Despite the intense economic crisis which pervades the world and the sacrifices imposed upon the Republic in the painful and necessary struggle to

effect the rational development and the equitable distribution of the national wealth, the Executive while pursuing his programme of rigid and persistent economy, has still been able to meet the demands of the public service and has not alone complied with interior obligations, which naturally are given preference, but also with foreign commitments and has sought with tenacious earnestness to establish the country's credit abroad.

Similar success has been accomplished in coping with the unexpected disbursements caused by the military campaigns against the Yaquis and in Jalisco and Guanajuato. These were carried to successful conclusions with a decision and energy which provides eloquent testimony to the efficiency, discipline and military capacity of our army and to its abilty to guarantee the inviolability of our democratic institutions and to insure public peace and tranquility in the country.

With firmness and vigor the Executive has continued his agrarian policy, and has corrected the deficiencies in the agrarian law and incessantly repaired errors which have been thrown into relief by experience. In the conviction that the true prosperity of the country depends upon the cultivation of the land, he has commenced great irrigation works and founded agricultural schools in order that the rural masses may acquire profitable knowledge and obtain a more exact and perfect idea of the value and significance of a moral and social solidarity among the workers.

As a proper measure for encouraging and making productive agricultural activities the Executive, according to the financial ability of the government, has brought about the construction and the development of land, water and aerial communications and extended his full support to this interesting branch of the administration in the comprehension that ade-

quate means of communication are a fundamental basis for the progress of the people.

In consonance with the development of communications the Executive has sought equally to favor industry and national commerce by rendering it practically possible to transport products at low rates, with the object of diminishing imports and increasing exports as much as possible. The motive of the Executive in this respect has been, and will continue to be, to bring about the uplifting of the industrial workers, the rural masses and the toilers generally who constitute the proletariat, to offer them the means of comfortable living and to dignify to the extent that is permitted by our powers those who are the true builders of national greatness. The frank evidence of the support of this policy, supplied by the legislation recently initiated by the Executive, is an open demonstration that neither interior nor exterior opposition nor the obstinate resistance of conservatism has succeeded in modifying the judgment or the purpose of the government, which is resolved steadfastly to maintain unimpaired the national sovereignty and the free right of Mexico to legislate in such debated questions as petroleum and in others of no less transcendental importance.

In line with his general concern for the welfare of the workers, the Executive has the obligation of fighting illiteracy and ignorance among the masses, which is being done through the continuous and progressive establishment of rural schools. Through self-denial and heroic force it has been possible to carry to the foremost corners of the country the benefits of these institutions.

All of these efforts, which are inspired by impulses of tangible truth and an unbreakable sincerity of conviction, I have brought to your attention in the summary of my work as Executive dur-

ing the past year. To conclude, I shall say once more before this Congress that the greatest reward to which I aspire in return for whatever efforts I have made for the welfare of the Mexican people is that they may believe that I have complied with my duty.

MEXICO AND BOLSHEVISM

RUSSIAN SYSTEM IMPOSSIBLE THERE, FOR PRESIDENT POINTS OUT THAT CAPITALISM IS FIRMLY IMPLANTED IN SOUTHERN REPUBLIC

(From The New York Times, November 27, 1927)

I am now quite used to being called a Bolshevik by those who are opposed to my political views. But then, here in Mexico, every one whose politics are progressive is termed a Bolshevik. The mere fact that I have placed myself at the head of that powerful section of my countrymen which seeks to remove all that is antiquated and out of date from our present system of government does not in the slightest degree justify my opponents in designating me as an extremist. It simply amounts to this: My enemies do not realize what is actually taking place in the world of today! The social changes going on before our very eyes are radical in the extreme; they are to be noted in every corner of the globe. And herein lies my duty as I conceive it—to do what is within my power to direct and hold this turbulent current of shifting opinion in check, so that instead of bringing destruction in its train it will bring prosperity.

In any case, it is still too early to pronounce judgment on the Russian Soviet system. We in Mexico must govern in accordance with the Constitution of 1917. That is why the Soviet as a

system of government interests us only in so far as it represents a new philosophy and a new social standpoint—in other words, we are interested in its theory, not in its practice.

The Trend Toward Individualism

I have adopted this attitude of moderation not only because my personal inclinations lie that way but because I am convinced that any revolutionary movement here in Mexico which threatens the authority of capital is bound to fail, for the simple reason that such a radical change would be contrary to the Mexican viewpoint. There is in Mexico a pronounced trend in favor of individualism, and this can only be satisfied within the limits set up by the present so-called capitalist system. For this reason the Government will do everything in its power to safeguard the interests of foreign capitalists who invest money in Mexico.

Above and below the surface of the Mexican soil there lie untold treasures. These enormous sources of wealth, however, are of no use to us unless we are in a position to exploit them. Every enterprise bringing capital to exploit these hitherto untapped sources will enjoy the full protection of our laws. On the other hand, capitalists must abide by these laws, too. They must not treat them with contempt or expect to be granted special privileges which would set them above the law. And least of all must they expect to be allowed to make slaves of the Mexicans, rewarding the latter for their toil with nothing more than a miserly wage. If they derive profit from the land, they are expected to benefit the country in return.

Wants All Aliens Naturalized

Every capitalist who comes here should feel himself a Mexican; he should take root here and build

up an estate with the idea of remaining here and becoming naturalized. We do not want persons to come over with the idea of making a fortune in the shortest possible time and then leave the country and spend that fortune elsewhere. We must put a stop to that sort of thing without, however, committing the grave error of striking at the liberty of the subject—for we pride ourselves on the freedom which the individual citizen enjoys.

We should make it our object to see that every foreigner who comes here takes out his naturalization papers. Thus we shall be following the example set by the United States. For in the States they are expert in assembling those forces necessary to build up the economic structure of the country; these forces are concentrated; they are not allowed to disperse. Hence the rapid progress made by the United States in the last decade. The tendency today is for the States to widen the sphere of their political influence; this is a result of their productive capacity. It arises from surplus energy, and their object is to extend their influence over the whole continent.

But the United States is not composed of a people of robbers, but of producers; they need markets for their manufactured goods and raw material for their industries. Their imperialism, of which the other States of America are afraid, is kept within bounds—if it were not, then the hostility of the Latin States would be immediately aroused. If the United States intervenes in the affairs of Latin America, for any reason whatsoever, the consequence will be that the whole of Spanish-speaking America will be alienated.

Value of Trades Unions

Nothing is further from my mind than to interrupt the peaceful economic development of Mexico

or to interfere with the present economic system. But I must emphasize the fact that I consider the trade unions to be absolutely indispensable to this capitalist system. For the trade unions serve a two-fold purpose: They keep the growing might of capitalism in check on the one hand; and in the event of an attack being launched on the capitalist ranks the unions serve as a barricade. The trade unions stand or fall by capitalism. But they should never intervene in political matters. Their sphere is purely economic, and once they meddle in politics they lose their character and their significance.

But that does not mean that the individuals of which the trade unions are composed should not take part in politics if they so wish—that is their right of citizenship, nay, more than their right, it is their duty. And in any case they will be doing no harm; for the leaders of the Mexican Labor Party have repeatedly shown that they are possessed of a strong sense of responsibility and that they attach more importance to what is likely to benefit the State than to the furtherance of their own ambitions.

I have expressly added the clause "here in Mexico" to my remarks, for I cannot overemphasize the fact that our internal political conditions are in no wise to be compared with those obtaining in the States of Western Europe. And I am absolutely convinced that in carrying out my political plans I can count on the firm support of the middle classes. I have done everything I could to arouse them from their former apathy toward political and social questions, so that now they are ready to take a prominent part in the renaissance which is just beginning. They will in time accept with alacrity the civic responsibilities which they will be asked to assume and for which they are already well fitted.

The middle classes have answered my call with enthusiasm, and I am certain they will take a decisive part in the further development of the Mexican democracy and in the eventual solution of our social problems.

My friendly feeling for the middle class can in part be ascribed to the fact that I am doing everything in my power to create a class of small peasant proprietors. It is my ambition to see the peasants own the land on which they work. For to make every peasant a proprietor is the best way of avoiding revolution and political unrest. Thus is created a substantial personal, and perhaps in a measure selfish, interest in supporting the existing order of things. Capital can play its part too in the founding of land banks, insurance companies, and so forth. In this way the bonds between capital and labor are strengthened.

But it is not the intention of the Government to split up large estates for this purpose. The voluntary cooperation of the present landed proprietors is sought, so that the acquisition by the peasants of small portions of land will be rendered possible. Under these circumstances, too, common land—that is to say land held in common by villages—will also be divided up into small holdings. But special laws will have to be formulated in order to prevent big stretches of this common land being controlled by one person.

It is my firm conviction that land held in common and worked in common offers no advantages to the peasants—it only gives rise to unnecessary disputes between neighbors. And when this system of small holdings has become an accomplished fact the means of production will be considerably increased. New railways will be built in districts which have not

hitherto been opened up. Great tracts of country, as for instance the States of Coahuila and Durango, will come under the plough and cultivation will be carried out in accordance with the most modern methods. Our plateaus can be reforested in the manner of the Argentine pampas, with the result that our climatic conditions will be bettered.

Once this system has been established we shall be able to encourage the immigration to Mexico of farm laborers from Europe. But if this is to be on the same scale as the immigration to the United States and the Argentine, then the farm laborers in Mexico must be better paid than they are at present.

Up to now industry, agriculture and mining here have been carried on at the expense of the underpaid worker, so that laborers from Europe could never compete with Mexican labor unless wages were raised. But if we make it our business to better the conditions of the people in general, immigration from Europe will be a sources of great wealth, so that in a few decades our population will have doubled.

APPENDIX

MEMORIAL OF THE MEXICAN PRELATES TO THE PRESIDENT

Points of view sustained by the Catholic clergy

Mr. President: The Episcopal Committee, which is the proper representative of the Archbishops and Bishops in the Republic of Mexico, and in the name of all the priests and of the Catholics in Mexico, respectfully state:

We make this petition under the natural right recognized by the Constitution of the Republic and which is cited by you in your statements published in the press on July 25 last.

But before proceeding with our petition it appears to us to be opportune and proper to reply with all sincerity to two charges which have been made against us, those of being in rebellion against the laws of Mexico and of not having before employed the right of petition, which we are doing, with respect to the Constitution of 1857, in which in 1873 were incorporated the Laws of Reform, and to the Constitution of 1917.

We have been accused of rebellion because of having ordered the suspension of pubic worship in the churches, in protest against the penal dispositions of the government which were dictated in June last. Nothing could be more unjustified than this charge. It is not rebellion not to commit an act penalized by law. Neither can a citizen be accused of rebellion when he refuses to exercise his pro-

fession because he conscientiously believes it to be impossible for him to do so under conditions which are imposed upon him, for "he who exercises his rights injures no one."

The conduct observed by the Catholic clergy of the Republic from the day upon which the law to which we object became of force, simply reduces itself to this. We believe that our conduct, so far as our consciences has permitted, has always demonstrated respect to the law.

With respect to the other charge, among other very strong reasons the principal cause of our failure to petition for the amendment of the articles of the Constitution which are antagonistic to the Church and the rights of Catholic citizens, was that for some reason or other the authorities in the past did not see fit to enforce these requirements. Thereby a situation of mutual tolerance was created which did not disturb the public peace and which permitted the Church relative liberty to exist and function.

We believed it less necessary to petition against the Constitution of 1917, upon seeing that President Carranza officially proposed to the Congress, with most convincing reasons the amendment of certain articles which are contrary to the liberties which we claim on behalf of the Catholic people of Mexico, which reforms were not accomplished by the Congress because of circumstances which are known to everyone. Neither did the successor to President Carranza urge the enforcements fo the said articles. Consequently we had no reason for changing our attitude.

Now, animated by the most sincere patriotism and desiring that there shall be a real and stable peace in the country, we ask that you utilize your influence to bring about the amendment of the articles referred to, and consequently of the penal

prescriptions which are sanctioned by them. As this will require time and as the solution of the present difficulties is urgent, we believe ourselves justified in asking you that some manner be arranged by which the application of the law may be suspended, in the interest of worship, education and charity.

The principle which leads us to request that these reforms be made is that general postulate which has now been converted into an established institution of our Repubic, and which is: "The most complete independence of Church and State," in order that the Constitution and all of the laws may not do less than faithfully interpret this supreme postulate. In this manner it will not be possible for the state to dictate laws favoring or opposing any religious or to legislate in religious matters, as, for example, determining the number of ministers who shall be allowed to officiate in the country or to impose conditions for the exercise of the ministry. This will correspond to the true conception of the civil law and indicate to the people that the independence of Church from State is faithfully respected.

In consequence we ask the following liberties, to which we are entitled as Christians, as citizens of a civilized nation and even as men: Liberty of conscience, of thought, of worship, of instruction, of association, of the press, all in actuality without technical legal restrictions tending to destroy the Constitutional principle. In a word, without seeking privileges, we ask for the recognition of that personality which is necessary and indispensable to the Church in order that the liberties above mentioned may be effective.

We are thoroughly convinced, and this is the opinion of the Catholic people of Mexico, that only in this manner can the old religious conflict which has brought so many evils to our country, a recrud-

escence of which is now taking place, be terminated definitely. This is, without doubt, the desire of all good Mexicans who are concerned with the happiness of the country, and history will record with just veneration the name of the ruler who, in compliance with his duty, realizes this noble work.

Mexico, August 16, 1926.

(Signed) JOSE MORA y DEL RIO,
Archbishop of Mexico,
The President of the Episcopal Committee.
PASCUAL DIAZ, Bishop of Tobasco,
Secretary.

THE REAL CALLES

HOW THE PRESIDENT LIVES AND WORKS—TAKES PRIDE IN THE FACT THAT HE SPRANG FROM THE HUMBLE CLASSES—SPENDS MUCH TIME IN STUDY—OFFICIAL TASKS ARE IMMENSE

(By Manuel Becerra Acosta, El Excelsior, Mexico City, September 16, 1925.)

One of the numerous anecdotes attributed to Napoleon when he was Emperor narrates that, finding himself one day conversing with several representatives of the old French nobility, he referred to some incident of his obscure youth and prefaced the illusion with, "When I was a subordinate officer of artillery," greatly to the surprise of some of his hearers who indicated their astonishment that the man who was at the period the foremost personality in Europe should thus confess his humble origin. Whereupon the Emperor repeated his statement, and provided emphasis to it, with a variation: "When I had the honor to be a subordinate officer of artillery."

Something similar occurred when General Calles was last year in Paris. At one of the entertainments given in his honor he was approached by an elderly Marquis who saluted him and began to ask him questions concerning various members of aristocratic Mexican families whom he had known in this country a quarter of a century ago. General Calles replied courteously, and considerably to the

embarrassment of his interrogator: "I regret to say that I am not acquainted with any of these persons, for the simple reason that I am a man who descended from very humble people, and consequently I never had an opportunity of meeting them."

Both in conversation and in his public address General Calles frequently makes references to the fact that he sprang from a poor family. For this reason he feels at home when surrounded by representatives of the working classes, while they, in turn, regard him as one of themselves.

Having from his youth been under the necessity of struggling against heavy odds to maintain himself and his family, General Calles is well schooled to cope with the varied and tremendously onerous duties which fall upon a President in a country like Mexico, where he is called upon to dispose of a multiplicity of comparatively insignificant matters which should, in fact, be handled by subordinates, and which could be settled as well by a reasonably intelligent policeman. Custom compels him to intervene in countless trivial affairs which consume an inordinate amount of time and effort which should in reality be devoted to concerns of vastly more vital moment to the country and to the administration.

I found myself one Wednesday evening in the presence of General Calles. He had been in office only a few months. It was at the conclusion of a long conference between the President and the Minister of War. The President's weariness was obvious. He had thrown himself back in a comfortable chair. His eyes were closed. Occasionally they opened to follow indifferently the smoke which twisted into the air from his cigarette. He had been through a busy and exhausting day, including conferences with various ministers, the reception of

numerous commissions from different parts of the country and the disposition of the normal volume of the day's work which was brought to his desk by his private secretary. I waited for the President to begin the conversation and thought how mistakenly a majority of persons believed that being President of Mexico meant an easy life, replete with pleasure, accompanied by honors and blind obedience on the part of the officials to the will and the orders of the President and complete and selfish personal satisfaction and happiness. But before me was evidence of the reality of the situation. General Calles is a strong man physically, of rare energy, an indefatigable worker, surcharged with enthusiasm, always optimistic, always eager for the fight. Still, I saw him the prisoner of fatigue, for the reason that since the first day he took office he had been under the weight of enormous and crushing labor and responsibilities consequent upon the reconstruction of a country exhausted by war, the conflict of personal ambitions, by the moral relaxation of the public officials, by the misery of the people and by the persistent spoilation of the many at the hands of the few.

Finally the President broke the silence with some incidental observation which afforded me an opportunity of asking him what he thought of the project which was then under discussion in the press and the Congress relative to lengthening the term of the President for from four to six years. He said that in his opinion the time was not opportune for making this change.

"The work is very heavy," said he, "and not every man could stand it for such a long period, and much less so when the country has not returned to its normal life. While the situation is being regularized, four years is plenty for the Presidential term."

Since his participation ceased in revolutionary activities in the field General Calles has lived a methodical life, physically, as the result of which he is now free of indispositions which would have incapacitated him from developing the labor which has been imposed upon him. He disposes of his time according to a rigid schedule, which enables him to get through a vast amount of work systematically and effectively. During the first few months of his administration he arose each morning at 5 o'clock and took physical exercise. He rode horseback in Chapultepec Park, rowed on the lake and walked back to his residence, just below the Castle, for a 7 o'clock breakfast, which consisted of fruit, eggs and some favorite dish of frontier cuisine, such as baked kid's head. But later on by the direction of his physician and to enable him better to recruit his vitality after the exhausting grind of his days at the desk, he has been devoting more time to sleep. His hour for rising is now 7. He begins the day by reading the newspapers, and pays especial attention to the editorials, the cables and the news from the interior. Occasionally he takes setting up exercise before breakfast. He is a good swimmer and enjoys horseback riding.

Promptly at 10 o'clock he is in his office at the National Palace, unless he elects to work at home, and from then until 1 o'clock he remains at his desk. He first receives his private secretary, who has arranged letters, telegrams and documents for his examination. Each letter or document bears a brief memorandum of its contents and is usually disposed of immediately, unless the President requires further information on the subject.

The President's Chief of Staff is next in turn, with his portfolio of matters relating to military affairs. He also lays before the President data connected with the movement of funds in all of the

offices of the federal government. One of the innovations introduced by the President in the administrative work of his office consists in having daily reports made to his Chief of Staff, whereby they reach him directly and without delay, of the monies received and paid out by the governmental departments. Thereby he is enabled to keep a close check upon expenditures and to scrutinize closely the destination of every peso paid out from the treasury and the reason and expediency of the expenditure. As a result in the first nine months of his administration the expenses of the government were reduced by more than 90,000,000 pesos. The Chief of Staff also keeps the President informed upon the movements and activities of the military forces in all parts of the Republic. As a rule the President is finished with his secretary and the Chief of Staff by noon. They give way to the Cabinet Ministers, at least one of whom is always waiting to confer with the President.

Conferences with other officials of the government, with commissions who seek the President's assistance or advice, or with persons who have appointments consume the afternoon hours. Applications for appointments average more than 100 a day, but as few of these as possible are granted. Ninety per cent of them concern trivial matters which can be adjusted by subordinates as well as by the President—pensions for widows, job hunters, seekers of favors, persons with grievances or with petitions. Efforts are made to limit the interviews which the President grants to ten minutes, but oftener than not they run to close to half an hour. With a brief interval for lunch and rest, the President remains in his office from 10 o'clock until after 7. He then goes home to dinner and while waiting for the meal to be served looks over the evening papers, chats with the members of his fam-

ily or plays with his youngest child, Gustavo, a boy of about seven. Not infrequently he puts in several hours of work at night.

Unless pressing reasons prevent, on Saturday the President leaves his office at noon and goes to his Quinta del Lago—the house by the lake—on the outskirts of the city. Sometimes he is accompanied by a few friends with whom he spends the afternoon. It is to the Quinto del Lago that he retires when he wishes to be alone to study some especially abstruse or difficult problem. He does most of his reading there—translations from the French, German or English of works or laws upon labor legislation, unionism, cooperativism—seated in a big chair on the veranda of the villa, overlooking the lake.

While thus engaged there he receives no callers and none are announced. It is necessary for him thus to seclude himself, for these are the only hours which he has to himself, in which to concentrate his attention without being interrupted upon matters and topics which require careful consideration before being acted upon. It is forbidden to break in upon him at the Quinta unless the cause is urgent.

On the stroke of 7 o'clock on Saturday evening there invariably appears at the Quinta "Brother Cosme," as the President calls Don Cosme Hinojosa, Director General of Posts, who comes to accompany General Calles to one of the theatres of the capital. He usually spends Sunday mornings at the Quinta with a group of his intimates, which is apt to include General Eugenio Martinez, Don Ernesto Ocaranza Llano, General Miguel Piña and possibly one or two of the Cabinet Ministers. The President is a very good story teller and a good listener. He relaxes completely and keenly enjoys these carefree hours on the terrace of the Quinta, which end with a cocktail or two and the dispersal

of the party. Occasionally he receives there early on Sunday callers by appointment, to discuss pressing topics. During the season he is apt oftener than not on Sunday afternoon to attend the bullfight.

The President finds his amusement principally at the theatre and the bullfights or in music. Dinners and other ceremonial social functions, even when they are given in his honor, interest him slightly. He does not like to have a fuss made over him. This accounts for his reluctance to accept the official hospitality which was proffered him in Germany during his trip to Europe, after his election as President and before he took office. While he was aboard ship he received a message from the Mexican Minister in Germany, informing him that President Ebert was preparing an elaborate reception for him. General Calles replied, saying that it would not be possible for him to accept, owing to the fact that he was travelling entirely in a personal capacity and that he was taking the trip for the benefit of his health. A second message came from the Mexican Minister, to the effect that the German Foreign Office insisted upon entertaining him officially. Again he declined, but when he arrived at Hamburg he found that the government, without consulting him further, had proceeded with the carrying out of its programme of entertainment.

To this point we have related, with the brevity imposed by the limitations of a newspaper article, what we have seen of the personal side of the President's life, but our account would not be complete without some reference to his early life and beginnings. General Calles is a son of Don Plutarco Elias Calles and Doña Maria de Jesus Calles. He is now forty-nine years old, having been born in Guaymas, Sonora, on September 25, 1877. His grandfather was Don Jose Juan Calles, who was a Colonel and second in command of the Liberal forces

which fought against the French intervention. Because of the death of his mother, the boy was given into the care of his aunt, Doña Manuela Calles, who took her responsibilities so seriously that she remained a spinster in order that she might look after her charge properly and without being distracted by other domestic duties. As an expression of gratitude for the care bestowed upon him by Doña Manuela, her nephew added to his name that of the self-sacrificing woman who had been a second mother to him.

When he was fifteen years of age he became a school teacher and to that profession he devoted ten years of his life, attaining to the position of Inspector in the school system of his native state. During this time he also engaged in journalism in his spare hours as a member of the staffs of periodicals in the city of Hermosillo. This is rather an important detail, taking into account the later tendencies of General Calles in defense of the interests of the working classes, for many of his newspaper writings were devoted to the subject of improving the condition of the producers and the laborers. In his articles he echoed the sufferings of the masses and demanded their emancipation. He also dipped into verse and printed many poems.

When the reactionist rebellion of 1913, which resulted in the downfall of the Madero Government and the assassination of Madero and Vice-President Pino Surrez took place, General Calles was a merchant in Agua Prieta. He had previously for a time engaged in farming and also in the milling business at Fronteras, Sonora. He began his militant revolutionary career by distributing his stock among the men of the vicinity who had taken up arms against the Huerta dictatorship, closing his store and taking the field.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF PRESIDENT CALLES

(By General Jose Monje Sanchez in the Revista Asturias, September 8, 1926.)

President Calles is descended from a family of vigorous, active and industrious men who gave patriotic service to their country in war and in peace and among whom were included officials who combatted the French intervention and filibustering on the Pacific slope of the country. His great grandfather was Don Manuel Elias Perez, a Spanish emigrant, who was a native of Almazan, province of Soria, Castilla la Vieja. He was the founder of San Pedro de las Palominas, which lies in the valley of the same name in Sonora, 32 kilometers from Naco and the same distance from Cananea. This is today one of the most prosperous regions of the state and it stands as a monument to the industry and energy of the forebears of the President.

San Pedro for many years was a port of entry, through which were cleared all of the imports and exports of the districts of Arizpe, Moctezuma and Sahuaripa. It now has 500 inhabitants and covers an area of 7,500 acres.

Upon the death of Don Manuel his property descended to his sons, Jose Juan, Francisco, Manuel and Jose Maria. The first, who was the grandfather of the President, was Prefect of the district of Ures during the Governorship of Don Ignacio Pesqueira, under whose leadership he fought against the French intervention and rose to the rank of

Colonel of the forces. Later he was Governor of Sonora and administered the affairs of the state to the general satisfaction of the people. His brother, Francisco, also became governor.

The father of President Calles was Don Plutarco Elias Lucero, who followed the career of a lawyer and who was known as an intelligent and competent man of affairs. Among the properties which he inherited from his father, Don Jose Juan, were included the lands of El Leoncito and Santa Rosa in the municipality of Fronteras. He had numerous sons, who devoted themselves to various activities. The President and his brother Arturo, who is now Mexican Consul General in New York, were educated in Guaymas. Plutarco established himself in Guaymas and later in Fronteras, where he resided until 1910, when he removed to Agua Prieta. He was there when Madero began his revolution against Diaz and enlisted in the ranks of the revolutionists. Through successive promotions he rose to the highest rank in the federal army, that of a General of Division. He distinguished himself notably in the field during the campaign against the Huerta government and afterwards, under the Presidency of Carranza, became Governor of Sonora, where his work as an administrator is still gratefully remembered by the people of the state. Among the principal accomplishments of his administration was the establishment of the famous Cruz Galvez Industrial School, which is one of the principal institutions of the Republic and which is a credit, not only to the state, but to the entire nation.

Under the governments of Presidents Carranza and Obregon he was successively Minister of War, Minister of Gobernacion and Minister of Labor, Industry and Commerce. As a federal executive he has demonstrated extraordinary qualifications as a governor and as an administrator, as indicated by

the motor and cart roads which have been constructed in all parts of the Republic, the public works which are completed or in process in creation and especially the founding of the Bank of Mexico and the Agricultural Credit Bank, and the amortization of the public debt, by which the credit of the country has been rehabilitated. All this has been accomplished without resorting to foreign loans, despite his having found the federal treasury, upon his assumption of office, in complete bankruptcy. It may truly be said that he is the best administrator which the country has seen since the colonial era.

The Elias family is connected with the Pesqueiras, Gabilondos, the Iarrozolos and others of the leading families of Sonora. With the exception of his great-grandfather, who was Spanish, all of the ancestors of President Calles have been industrious, active and patriotic Sonorans.

Colonel Angel Elias and Captain Manuel Elias Pro were, officers under Colonel Francisco S. Elias, when in 1858 he defeated the Grabb filibustering expedition in Caborca. To the same family belonged Don Domingo Elias, who was district judge in Chihauhau, and Don Manuel Elias Gonzalez, Judge of the First Instance in Magdalena. As a proof of the estimation in which the family is held in Sonora, one of the streets of the city of Nogales has, since its foundation, bore the name.

AT SOLEDAD DE LA MOTA

(By Esperanza Valezquez Bringas)

When the fourth convention of the Mexican Labor Party met at Guadalajara on August 22, 1923, a committee was appointed to wait upon General Calles and inform him that he was the unanimous choice for President of all the organized labor groups of the country. This committee was composed of representatives from every state. It was a long trip from Guadalajara, through Monterey, to Teran, which is the station nearest to the Calles hacienda of Soledad de la Mota.

When the committee reached the hacienda General Calles was conversing at the door with a group of friends. He rose and advanced to meet us. We passed inside. The coolness, in contrast to the suffocating heat of the day in the open air, was refreshing. We saw General Calles in his home. He wore a purple silk shirt and trousers of Palm Beach cloth. He smiled pleasantly. We seated ourselves in the ample terrace which, with its tiles of black and white, its arches and delicate columns, was like an oasis in a land scorched by the mid-day sun. Further on was a garden of roses and beyond the fields the open country.

Introductions were completed and then Morones, speaking in the name of the committee, delivered the letter in which the convention expressed its choice of Calles for President. Each delegate explained from what state he came and what group he represented.

Calles expressed his appreciation, but said that it was impossible for him to accept the nomination so long as he was a member of the Cabinet of President Obregon. He had come to La Mota, he said, on a leave of absence to recuperate his health. It was agreed that he should reply to the communication from the convention as soon as his resignation from the Cabinet had been accepted.

While Calles was saying all this I was afforded the opportunity of observing him attentively. Simplicity and sincerity are indicated by his appearance and his words. His complexion is healthy and the strong lines of his face reveal the energy and the organizing temperament which has always distinguished him. His forehead is ample and his brown eyes are a trifle oblique. Their aliveness and intelligence are significant of the keenness of his intellect. As a result of the few phrases which I exchanged with him I formed the opinion that he is a man of character. In age he has that ripeness which enables the human consciousness to attain its best realizations and to consider all the problems laid before it with the tranquility born of experience.

With the striking of the lunch hour we were invited to the dining room. Like the other apartments of the house, it was furnished in taste, but simply, almost humbly. The extreme cleanliness of everything, the abundance of fruit and the odor of fresh milk suggested to me one of Francis James' paintings, while the patriarchal atmosphere might well have inspired a poem by Lopez Velarde.

Everything was informal and cordial. Between the dishes General Calles spoke of his son, who is preparing to raise cotton on the hacienda. Soledad de la Mota has always produced corn alone, but the yield of this crop is not sufficient to cover the expenses of the hacienda and the high wages which

are paid to the labor. To enable the payment to them of still better wages it is planned to increase the production of the place. The peons are enthusiastic, for they appreciate that this is a matter in which they are vitally interested, and that it is sought to bring about complete harmony between the owners and the workers, which is the most certain manner of developing any business and causing it to prosper.

Old-time methods of cultivation on the hacienda have been supplanted by work done with modern machinery; the employes are running tractors, mowing machines, seeders.

"When we came here," said the General, "no one on the place knew how to manage machinery. I sent for a mechanic to teach two of the men. He did so and they are now teaching the others."

"Is it true that, within the brief time you have been here, you have established a rural school?"

"Yes. When I realized that none of the people on the place or any of the children knew how to read and write I concluded that it was my duty to give them a school. Until I could get a teacher here I taught the school myself. Even now, when we have a teacher, I go down and talk to the pupils and the teacher, my son and myself take turns in giving primary instruction."

We returned to the terrace at the conclusion of the lunch. There was some talk of the meritorious work done by General Calles when he was Governor of Sonora and as a member of the President's Cabinet. It was all interesting, but what was especially of concern to me was the foundation of the Cruz Galvez School, a model experimental, agricultural and industrial school established by him in Sonora, as a result of his belief that the way of progress in Mexico lies through education. I asked him to tell me something about the school.

"After the revolution," he explained, "it became our duty to look after the orphans left by the war. My first idea was to create a school home, which should at the same time be a workshop, exclusively for the orphan boys, but later I expanded the plans and the result was the Cruz Galvez school for both boys and girls.

"The idea has always appealed to me of establishing a great school wherein there might be an equilibrium of education, which would not proportion purely intellectual instruction but which would bring about a balance between mental work and physical work, which would equip children to become men and women of action in practical life.

"With great difficulty I succeeded in establishing the Cruz Galvez school, with school rooms as well as a tannery and shoemaking, carpenter, blacksmith, machine and other shops. There are also great gardens, gymnasiums, well ventilated dining rooms and hygienic dormitories. We also have experimental farms. For the girls we have provided suitable shops and small industries. There is even a fashion shop, a hairdressing shop, a fur shop and a soap and perfumery shop. The buildings and only part of the machinery cost us 800,000 pesos, but it is worth it. I will tell you how I got the money together, and how the pupils and I worked. I succeeded principally because everyone responded to my initiative. The school was founded upon a basis of popular will. There was no one who did not feel enthusiastic over the purpose and the magnitude of the work and who did not contribute his mite. There was not a town or a family which failed to give. As fast as the money came in, we began to build.

"After we had built the school, the problem was to sustain it. My personal resources were not sufficient. At times I was afraid that we should have to close it down, despite the efforts which the teach-

ers and the pupils were making. To show the people what we were doing and to help us in raising money I sent for specialists who made motion pictures of the school, woven into an appropriate story. I became sort of theatrical manager. We loaded a railway car with the film, a few students and some singers and sent it around the country, and even across the border into the United States, to advertise the school and induce the people to open their pocketbooks. The trip was a success. Almost everyone who turned out to the theatres to see our show were not satisfied merely with looking at what the boys and girls were doing, but were anxious to help in giving them a chance in life and sent us money. So in this way we managed to get enough to keep the school going until it could pay its way, which it is now doing. The school now has no need of official assistance and has been converted into a true center of industry and commerce. According to the reports sent me by the Director and the teachers, last year the saddlery and shoe shops alone made a profit of 50,000 pesos.

"Many of the graduates of the school are now in business for themselves. Most of them who do not know who their parents were and who have been graduated have taken the name of Calles or Galvez. We have implanted a system of paying the pupils for their work and of saving for them half of their earnings. So when they get ready to leave and start out for themselves they are equipped with a bit of capital."

When he was telling me about the school the General grew animated and his eyes twinkled as he referred to his "children."

"We have some of them pursuing special courses of study in Europe," he added, "I have wanted them to do this, for later on they will be the ones who will direct the school. We want to turn out good

workmen. Some of the boys are studying tanning in Frankfort, Germany, and others are perfecting themselves in England, France and the United States.

"We have girls in Mexico, taking normal courses, in preparation for teaching in the school later on. Other pupils are in various factories and in the School of Electrical Engineering. So gradually many of the pupils will become teachers themselves.

"If you could see their satisfaction when they come to spend Sunday with me in Mexico! They are like members of my own family!"

While General Calles was telling me all this I could not refrain from repeating to myself, mentally: "One accomplishment like this is enough to justify a life!" While his merits as a Governor, a Cabinet Minister and a revolutionist may be many, his work as an educator, as the founder of a new society whose bases are formed in this school, finds its counterpart only in the accomplishments of Tolstoi in Yasnaya Poliana and Tagore in India.

To show their gratitude to their benefactor the pupils of the school frequently send to General Calles specimens of their work, in order that he may continue to appreciate their labor.

"Bring me my presents from Sonora," said he. He displayed them to us with pride. They included a handbag and a letter case of fine leather, bearing the General's initials.

Before leaving we strolled through the garden. The conversation did not cease for a moment. The General asked various delegates for news of what was going on their parts of the country. There seemed to be no place, no matter how small or obscure, concerning which he was not familiar. He said that during his trips through Chiapas and Guerrero he had observed the urgency of something being done for the Indians of those sections, some

tribes of which existed in an almost primitive state.

I must not overlook one detail which surprised me when General Calles was speaking of Nayarit and which displayed his realization of the social factors which create violent crises, disorders and economic disturbances. These factors, in his estimation, must be modified in order to bring about social and economic harmony between the integral elements of the people.

"When General Carranza sent me to fight the rebels in Nayarit," said he, "after I had studied the situation of those men, I remember that I returned to Mexico and Carranza asked me: "But why aren't you fighting the rebels?" I said to him:

"Mr. President, there are matters which cannot be arranged by arms. If you and I were in the same position that those poor people are, we ourselves would be up in arms inside of a week. But they have supported their misery and ignominy and stood for being exploited for many long years.

"In my opinion what we must do is to see how we can arrange so that these people are able to make enough to live comfortably and to give them modest houses instead of wretched huts, schools and a bit of ground which they can cultivate for themselves and be independent. Where there is plenty of work and the people are happy, there are no rebels."

This demonstrated to me that Calles is at heart a civilian statesman, despite the fact that he is a military man. He believes in human betterment through work and education, and he has faith in a future society which will not regard bayonets as an essential part of the happiness of the people.

THE BANK OF MEXICO

In effect, the Bank of Mexico corresponds in its general functions and in its relationship to the financial and commercial fabric of the country, to the Federal Reserve system of the United States, the Bank of England and the Bank of France. It was established in accordance with Article 28 of the Constitution and under the banking law signed by President Calles on August 25th, 1925. The Bank opened its doors for business on September 1st of that year. The salient features of the law, which was drafted exclusively by financial experts in Mexico, without the assistance of foreign advisers, are so drawn as to insure, so far as it is humanly possible, rigid safety and extreme conservatism in the operation of the Institution and the management of its resources. While it is true that the law governing the conduct of the Bank embodies various features of a nature peculiarly adapted to the Mexican banking field and which constitute a departure from the traditional limitations of old-line banking, the fact remains that foreign banking authorities who have examined the law and tested it rigidly, link by link, have in unqualified terms signified their approbation and admiration of it. The innovations referred to could hardly fail to receive the approval of these judges, for their calculated and practical effect is to carry the margin of safety and the principle of enforced conservatism further than is the practice, even of the most successfully conservative banks, in countries outside of Mexico. The only

criticism of the law which governs the Bank is that it is, if anything, too conservative and that the checks placed upon the officers are so close and inflexible as to restrict the earning power of the Bank.

As the Constitution provides, the Mexican government owns and controls the majority of the shares of the Bank, but there the control of the government ceases, excepting in the following eminently proper contingencies:

The government, through the Finance Minister, has the power to veto a resolution of the Board of Directors only when, in his opinion, such resolution may adversely effect the economic equilibrium of the country in these specific cases:

First, when the resolution relates to investments in foreign securities or to deposits made abroad.

Second, when it relates to fresh issues of bank notes, even though said issues may be within legal limits.

Third, when it relates to transactions by the Bank in connection with the regulation of the currency, the latter being one of the functions of the Bank.

Fourth, when it relates to operations connected with the public debt or the bonds thereof.

Otherwise the government, under the law, is wholly restrained from interfering with the operations of the Bank in any manner. The Bank cannot loan its funds to the government in excess of ten per cent of the Bank's paid-in capital. In its general banking operations and policies the Institution is as free and untrammeled, from governmental dictation or influence, as a private bank.

The capital of the Bank of Mexico is 100,000-000 pesos oro nacional, of which more than 62,-

400,000 pesos has been paid in. While the government only may purchase and own A shares of the Bank, both the government and the public may acquire B shares.

The Bank performs the following functions, according to the Banking Law:

(a) Issues Bank notes, under the exclusive right granted by the Constitution, secured by gold reserves.

(b) Regulates, within the Republic, monetary circulation, foreign exchange and interest rates.

(c) Re-discounts negotiable documents, in the capacity of a Central Bank of Re-discount.

(d) Acts in the capacity of financial agents of the Mexican Federal Treasury.

(e) Transacts a general business in its capacity as a Bank of Deposit and Discount.

(f) Controls, supervises and regulates the minting of gold, silver and fractional currency.

The Bank's profits for the year 1926 were 3,223,381 pesos.

Through the inherent qualities of the law and the personality of the men into whose hands the management of the Bank has been entrusted, the Institution has gained the full confidence not alone of the business community of Mexico, but of other countries as well. From the beginning President Calles insisted that the activities of the Bank should be wholly divorced from government influence and control. The personnel of the management is representative of the most substantial elements in Mexican business circles. No government official nor politician is an officer or an employee. All the Directors are absolutely independent in their business, professional and political connections and of unimpeachable character, reputation and standing.

LEGAL FEATURES OF THE OIL QUESTION INVOLVED IN MEXICAN-AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

By WALTER D. HAWK
Member of The Chicago Bar

(From The Illinois Law Review, June, 1917)

There exists in the minds of laymen and lawyers alike a misapprehension of the legal features of the Mexican oil question. The misapprehension exists chiefly because of the difficulty in acquiring knowledge of the Constitution, laws and statutes of Mexico relating to oil, and because they are in a foreign language and a foreign jurisprudence.

American courts uniformly treat oil, gas and subterranean water in a class by themselves, and as exceptions to the general laws relating to property. The reason for this is that these three things are *"ferae naturae"* (wild by nature), having the peculiar characteristics of involuntary self-migration.

The courts further hold that as oil is a liquid mineral *"ferae naturae"* it is analogous to animals *"ferae naturae"* and the laws relating to the right of property in it are substantially the same as the laws relating to the right of property in things and animals *"ferae naturae."*

The sovereign state alone has the right to grant authority or to withdraw authority for taking pos-

session of animals and things wild by nature, and the state itself cannot surrender or deprive itself of that right. Apply this principle to oil. A owns in fee simple 160 acres of land in Indiana; B owns the adjoining 160 acres across the line in Illinois; a thousand other fee simple title land owners, one-half in Indiana and one-half in Illinois, own together with A and B most of the land under which there is an oil pool. Who owns the oil in the pool? Does A own today the oil that is under his 160 acres? He does not. For tomorrow the same oil is under B's land. Does B own the oil? He does not. For tomorrow the same oil has migrated to C's 160 acres; then to D's; then some day a fraction of that same oil migrates back to A's 160 acres or to B's. It is a physical impossibility to control, prevent or follow the migration of that oil. It is self-migratory. And this is the real reason why there can be no ownership of oil while it is in the ground. That reason is affirmed by three decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

(Ohio Oil Co. v. Indiana, 1899; 177 U. S. 190. Lindsley v. Natural Carbonic Gas Co., 1911; 220 U. S. 61; Walls, Attorney General of the State of Wyoming, v. Midland Carbon Co., 1920; 254 U. S. 300.)

Reference is herein made to the state or the sovereign state in the sense of the supreme state or commonwealth having all the powers of the state, irrespective of the subordinate distribution of those powers. The government of Mexico possesses all these powers and it cannot be assumed, in the discussion of the oil problem, that the government of the United States possesses fewer powers than those possessed by the Mexican government.

As the laws of Mexico are so difficult to find citations are here given, together with the orig-

inal Spanish, and the English transactions. They come in the following order:

1. *Codigo de Minera de la Republica Mexicana.* Enacted by the Mexican Congress, November 22, 1884. Article 10, Section IV.
2. *Constitucion Politica de las Estados Unidos Mexicanos.* Edicion oficial, 1917, Article 27.
3. Law Regulating Article 27 of the Constitution in the Matter of Petroleum; enacted December 26, 1925; effective January 1, 1927.

Article 10, Section IV of the Mexican Mining Code, in Spanish, reads as follows:

Art. 10. Son de la exclusiva propriedad del dueno del suelo, quien por lo mismo, sin necesidad de denuncio ni de adjudicacion especial, podra explotar y aprovechar.....

IV. Las sales que existan en la superficie, las aguas puras y saladas, superficiales o subterraneas; el petroleo y los manantiales gaseosos o de aguas termales y medicinales.

The English translation of the above follows:

The following are the exclusive property of the owner of the land, who, therefore, will be able to exploit and use them for his own advantage, without the necessity of making a denouncement or obtaining a special judication ..... Surface salts, pure or salt water on the surface or in the subsoil; petroleum or gas springs or those of thermal or hot water.

The Constitution of Mexico, adopted in 1917, so far as it relates to oil, reads in Spanish as follows:

Corresponde a la nacion el dominio directo de todos los minerales o substancias que en vetas, mantos, masas o yacimientos constituyan despositos cuya naturaliza sea distinta de los componentes de los terrenos, tales como los minerales de los que se extragan metales y metaloides utilizados en la industria; los yacimientos de piedras preciosas, de sal de gema y las salinas formados directamente por las aguas marinas; los productos derivados de la descomposicion de las rocas cuando su explotacion necesite trabajos subterraneous, los fosfatos susceptibles de ser utilizados como fertilizantes; los combustibles mnierales solidos; el petroleo y todos los carburos de hidrogeno solidos, liquidos o gaseosos.

The American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, has published an English translation of the Mexican Constitution of 1917, the translation having been made by Mr. H. N. Branch (then and now an employe of the Huasteca (Doheny) Petroleum Co.) The part referring to oil, and quoted above in Spanish, according to the Branch translation, reads:

> In the nation is vested direct ownership of all minerals or substances which in veins, layers, masses or beds constitute deposits whose nature is different from the components of the land. Such as minerals from which metals and metaloids used for industrial purposes are extracted; beds of precious stones, rock salt and salt lakes formed directly by marine waters, products derived from the decomposition of rocks when their exploitation requires underground work; phosphates used for fertilizers; solid mineral fuels; petroleum and all hydro-carbons—solid, liquid or gaseous.

Mr. Branch translates the Spanish "domino directo" in the original as "direct ownership." The usual and more accurate translation is "direct domain" or "direct dominion." It is evident that Mr. Branch's translation is inaccurate. Moreover, the expression "direct ownership" is not in common use in the United States.

The Spanish words "exclusiva propriedad" in Article 10 of the Mexican Mining Code are translated supra into English as "exclusive property," having annexed to them words giving the land owner the right to exploit and use the oil without the need of a denouncement or special adjustment. This is and always has been the law in the United States. There is in the United States no need for a denouncement, or for any kind of an adjudgment in favor of a land owner before he can drill and produce oil. Then where is the difference between the laws of Mexico and the laws of the United States in this respect?

If Article 10 of the Mexican Mining Code purports to give to the land owner the right to exploit and use oil under his land, without the necessity of denouncement or adjudgment, is not that same right an element of fee simple title ownership in the United States? And yet that element of ownership of oil is not inconsistent with the state's "direct domain" or "direct dominion" over oil *while in the ground,* according to adjudications of the United States Supreme Court.

It is apparent that the Congress of the United Mexican States had these features of the oil controversy in view when it enacted the law of December 26th, 1925, effective January 1st, 1927, requiring that applications be made for concessions to exploit, drill and produce oil before such exploiting, drilling and producing would be permitted. The law applies to producing wells and to land owners, as well as to others. It is this law that has caused the Americans interested in oil production in Mexico to appeal to Washington. They seek to protect their rights in Mexico as oil "owners." It is a question as to whether they have any rights as "owners" of oil. They would not have any such rights as "owners" of oil in the United States. It is possible that they are asking the United States government to protect, in Mexico, "property" which under a similar state of facts in the United States would be no "property" at all. The law covers several pages and we give but a few excerpts. The English translation here given is accepted by the Mexican government.

LAW REGULATING ARTICLE 27 OF THE CONSTITUTION IN THE MATTER OF PETROLEUM

Article 1. The direct domain on all natural mixtures of carbons of hydrogen which are found in their natural deposits, whatever may be the physical condition thereof,

is vested in the nation. In this law is understood by the word "petroleum" all the natural mixtures of hydro-carbons of which it is composed, which are associated with it or are derived from it.

Article 2. The direct domain of the nation, to which the preceding article refers, is inalienable and imprescriptible, and only with the express authorization of the Federal Executive, granted as provided in this present law and its regulations, may the works required by the petroleum industry be carried out.

Article 4. Mexicans and corporations, whether civil or commercial, constituted in conformity with Mexican laws, may obtain petroleum concessions upon compliance with the provisions of this law. Foreigners, in addition to the foregoing obligations, must comply beforehand with the provisions of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution.

Article 6. All matters relating to the petroleum industry are of exclusive federal jurisdiction.

Article 12. Concessions granted by the executive of the nation, in accordance with previous laws, will be confirmed without any cost whatever, subject to the provisions of this law.

Article 14. The following rights will be confirmed without any cost whatever and by means of concessions granted in conformity with this law:

1. Those arising from lands in which works of petroleum exploitation were begun prior to May 1, 1917.
2. Those arising from contracts made before May 1, 1917, by the superficiary or his successors in title for express purposes of exploitation of petroleum. The confirmation of these rights may not be granted for more than 50 years, computed in the case of Fraction 1 from the time the exploitation works began and in the case of Fraction 2 from the date upon which the contracts were made.

The ultimate limitations of the rights of a sovereign state over persons and things are not to be found in its written constitutions and laws. Some are to be found there; some are not. The so-called "confirmatory concession" law effective January 1, 1927, is Mexico's expression of some of her ideas of the inherent right of the sovereign state. The American fee simple title owners of oil lands in Mexico object to the law on the ground

that the sovereign state of Mexico does not possess these rights. They refuse to make application for such "confirmatory concessions" because such submission to the law would concede that Mexico has the same inherent rights over oil under the land in Mexico as the sovereign state of the United States has over oil under land of the owner in the United States. They see that such a compliance with the "confirmatory concession" law would put owners of oil lands in Mexico precisely in the same position into which the United States Supreme Court has put the fee simple title owner of oil lands in the United States. He is asking for a better title than a fee simple title. He seeks a higher standing in Mexico than he now occupies as to his oil lands in the United States.

Both countries as sovereign states have the basic right to regulate or prohibit the extraction of oil from the ground. Mexico has exercised that right. The United States has not.

Mexico drills her own national oil lands and gets one hundred per cent of the oil for national railway and governmental uses. The United States leases her national oil lands to private oil producers and gets a royalty of somewhere around six per cent. Mexico exercises her dominion over oil. The United States does not. And yet, Washington demands that Mexico do as the United States does. If the United States government had exercised its inherent powers of dominion over oil as the Mexican government has done, there would have been no Teapot Dome or Elk Hill scandal.

The "confirmatory concession" law of 1925 permits present owners of oil lands in Mexico to exploit, drill for and produce oil for fifty years absolutely, with an extension of additional time un-

der certain conditions. It is asserted by American owners of oil lands in Mexico that the law of 1925 is inconsistent with the law of November 22, 1884, and therefore it, as well as Article 27 of the 1917 Constitution is retroactive and confiscates the land owner's rights acquired under the law of 1884, Article 10, Section IV. This is the point in the Constitution of 1917 over which the commissioners at the Mexican-American Conference in Mexico City in 1923 deliberated for three months. They deliberated, but they did not settle it. In fact, they did not, in either convention submitted to the Senates of the two governments as a result of that conference, say a word about oil. (See Congressional Record, January 23, 1924, page 1363.) They merely signed minutes setting out the views of the two governments about oil, and those minutes were not submitted for approval to the Senate of either country. These minutes did not define "ownership,'" "retroactive," or "direct domain" in relation to oil. It was well understood in Mexico that the conference did not settle the oil question. It was known that the American Commissioners assumed the credit for settling a thing which was not settled. And so it turned out. The government of the United States deliberately excluded international law where it would have been for the benefit and profit of the Mexican government in the matter of claims for losses of life and property suffered because of revolutionary acts. (See Special Claims Convention, Articles II, III, Congressional Record, January 23, 1924, page 1365.) On the feature of excluding international law that convention reads:

> The Mexican Government desires that the claims shall be so decided because Mexico wishes that *her responsibility shall not be fixed according to the generally accepted rules and principles of international law.* . . . .

The claims which the Commission shall examine and decide are those which arose during the revolutions and disturbed conditions which existed in Mexico covering the period from November 20, 1910, to May 31, 1920, inclusive, and were due to any any act by the following forces:

1. By forces of a government *de jure* or *de facto.*
2. By revolutionary forces as a result of the triumph of whose cause governments *de facto* or *de jure* have been established, or by revolutionary forces opposed to them.
3. By forces arising from the disjunction of the forces mentioned in the next preceding paragraph up to the time when a government *de jure* established itself as a result of a particular revolution.
4. By federal forces that were disbanded and
5. By mutinies or mobs, or insurrectionary forces other than those referred to under sub-divisions 2, 3 and 4 above, or by bandits, provided in any case it be established that the appropriate authorities omitted to take reasonable measures to suppress insurrections, mobs or bandits, or treated them with leniency or were in fault in other particulars.

Mexico is not liable for such damages under International law. Nor was the United States liable for such damages in the Revolutionary War or the Civil War.

Mexico could not get recognition from the United States government without that surrender of her rights under international law. The Mexican government knew that under international law, as recognized by the United States and Great Britain, a government is not responsible to foreigners for damages for loss of life or property suffered on account of warfare, revolution, riots, mobs, or violation of public law. Surrender of that right belonging to Mexio was part of the purchase price paid to the United States by the Mexican government for recognition.

It may be asked: What has this to do with the law of oil ownership? It has this to do with it: The United States government in the international conference minutes reserved to its citizens their rights under international law as to oil. It has been demanding for her citizens rights under international law as against Article 27 of the 1917 Mexican Constitution and the Mexican law of December 26th, 1925. The Mexican government sees very clearly that when international law is to the profit of American citizens, the United States is for it. But when the enforcement of international law would be to the loss of American citizens, then the United States government is against it. Under international law Mexico is not liable to Americans for loss of life and property suffered on account of warfare or revolution. The United States is trying to take oil out of Mexico according to international law. It is trying to take revolutionary damages out of Mexico contrary to international law.

On the question of the impossibility of "ownership" of oil while it is in the self-migratory state, let us compare the laws of the United States with the laws of Mexico. The state has a superior dominion over oil in the ground. The Mexicans call it "dominio directo" and they translate it "direct domain." The opinions in the three leading United States Supreme Court cases affirm that the sovereign state is supreme over oil and gas while in the ground, and the state may, by virtue of its superior inherent power, control and prohibit the taking of oil and gas from the ground to the extent that no right of property in them remains to the owner of the land. (See 1889, 177 U. S. 190, at 202.)

In Ohio Oil Co., v. Indiana, Chief Justice White says:

> True it is that oil and gas, like other minerals, are situated beneath the surface of the earth, but except for this one point of similarity, in many other respects they greatly differ. They have no fixed situs under a particular portion of the earth's surface within the area where they obtain. They have the power, as it were, of self-transmission. No one owner of the surface of the earth within the area beneath which the gas and oil move can exercise his right to extract from the common reservoir, in which the supply is held, without, to an extent, diminishing the source of supply as to which all other owners of the surface must exercise their rights. The waste by one owner, caused a reckless enjoyment of his right of striking the reservoir at once, therefore, operates upon the other surface owners.

And at page 210 the court says:

> This necessarily implied legislative authority is borne out by the analogy suggested by things *ferae naturae* which it is unquestioned the legislature has the authority to forbid all from taking, in order to protect them from undue destruction, so that the right of the common owners, the public, to reduce to possession, may be ultimately efficaciously enjoyed. . . . .

In Lindsley vs. Natural Carbonic Gas Co. (See 1911, 220 U. S. 61.) it was held that "the power of the state was exerted to prohibit the owner of the surface from pumping on his own land, water charged with gas." The power of the state so to prohibit was affirmed by the court.

A late case defining the superior dominion of the state over gas as well as over oil is Walls, Attorney General of Wyoming, vs. Midland Carbon Co. (See 1920, 254 U. S. 300). In that case Mr. Justice McKenna defines the powers of the state over oil and gas while in the ground, beyond anything that had ever before been announced by the Supreme Court. The limitations mentioned in the

opinion are all limitations upon the property rights of the land owner and not limitations upon the powers of the state. The court says:

> The question in the case is, as we have said, whether the legislation of Wyoming is a valid exercise of the police power of the state and brings into comparison the limits of the power as against the asserted rights of property—whether the legislation is a legal conservation of the natural resources of the state or an arbitrary interference with private rights. . . . .
>
> The basis of the contention of the offense of the statute against the Constitution of the United States explicitly was that the Company, being the owner of the land owned, had power and authority over all beneath the land's surface that it could reduce to possession. This was the same postulate, it will be observed, that was asserted in Ohio Oil Co. v. Indiana. It was rejected upon the authority of that case. We, however, said, "Were the question an open one we should still solve it in the same way. . . . .
>
> The determining consideration is the power of the state over, and its regulation of, a property in which others beside the companies may have rights, and in which the state has an interest to adjust and preserve, natural gas being one of the resources of the state.

Throughout the entire opinion of the court the right or dominion over gas and its production was based on "the policy of the state;" "the preservation of the natural resources of the state;" "equal participation" "by the people of the state;" "duration of this utility;" "the consideration of the state;" "the state" was not "to stand idly by" "while these resources were used in such way that tended to their depletion, having no power of interference," and such other expressions. "The state," "the people of the state," "the public" are the beneficiaries of the state's dominion over gas as a natural resource of the state.

In the opinion of the three cases herein cited are found four propositions which we have reason

to believe are just as true in Mexico as they are in the United States. These four propositions are as follows:

First. Oil is a thing *ferae naturae* (wild by nature), is migratory in its nature and by reason of its voluntary self-transmission is able to escape from under land owned in fee simple by the owner of the land.

Second. The fee simple title owner of the land does not own absolutely the migratory oil in the earth beneath his land.

Third. The right of the fee simple title owner of the land to reduce to possession the migratory oil beneath his land is subject to the right and power of the state to regulate, control and have dominion over the oil in the earth and its taking therefrom.

Fourth. Such right and power of the state is not limited to the regulation, control and dominion over the oil and the taking of it from the earth for the protection of the owners of the land underneath which the oil pool exists, but such right and power include the right and power to regulate, control, prohibit and have dominion over the oil in the earth and the taking of it therefrom for the benefit, protection, welfare and safety of the community, the public and the state.

And yet Washington denies these vital propositions, and for years has been trying, in Mexico, to enforce the very opposite principles as to state dominion over oil. Mexico has been claiming "direct domain" in the nation. Washington claims absolute ownership in private American citizens. It is inconceivable that Washington is seeking to

annul, in Mexico, the principle of sovereign state dominion over oil in the subsoil. If that were to be done at home, for the benefit of foreign private owners of oil lands, and if the American people could get a good and clear conception of the significance of the surrender, they would compel a summary and permanent settlement of the oil trouble at home and abroad in harmony with the views of our Supreme Court.

As the result of fifteen years of observation of conditions in Mexico, the writer is of the opinion that underneath all the troubles between Mexico and the United States, all the rumors of wars, arms embargoes, recognitions and withdrawals of recognition, charges and counter-charges and all sorts of pretenses of religious and other issues, is OIL. It is the selfish demand of the few financially interested in oil in Mexico which has for all these years kept Mexico and the United States pretty close to the point where, outside of an international court of law, the only solution would be war. They have used the American government for the promotion of their own pecuniary profit without letting the people know the real facts in the matter. The American people are entitled to something better. They are entitled to have this troublesome and dangerous oil question settled, and without the ever recurring possibility and danger of war with Mexico.

From the foregoing summary of the legal features of the oil question involved in the Mexican-American diplomacy it may fairly be said that both sides have some right, and both sides have some wrong. Possibly neither side is so right that it can ignore the claims of the other side. Here is presented a typical case for an international

court of law, rather than an international board of arbitration. The questions involved are questions of law, and if the law questions hereinbefore mentioned were once adjudicated by an international court of law, there would not be anything left to the oil problem in Mexico.

However, we may as well recognize that the Americans owning oil lands in Mexico do not want their alleged property rights in oil determined by law. They claim there is nothing to arbitrate. They claim still more vehemently that there is no question of law involved. And Washington backs them up. Under such conditions, where do the American people come in? The nature of the facts and the complexities of the law are such that it is practically impossible to put them clearly before the people. There ought to be some way to remove the whole oil controversy from the forum of private interests and put it into a forum where the people would get a chance.

And yet when a government leases its naval reserves of oil to prevent adjacent private owners of oil lands from pumping the pool dry, as at Elk Hill and Teapot Dome, what can be expected? That was an opportune time for Washington to have wielded Mexico's big stick of "domino directo" and saved the nation's oil permanently in the ground safe from depletion by adjacent private owners of land who were not "owners" of the oil. Our Supreme Court holds that the government could have stopped the depletion. But Washington was so busy protecting American "ownership" of oil in Mexico that it neglected to protect its own "ownership" in Wyoming and California. The naval reserves of oil happened to be in poor hands just then, and "domino directo"

could not be heard in the riot of "direct ownership" and "private ownership" created by the same Americans who for long years had employed the same ugly tactics in Mexico.

It may be that the United States Senate, after voting unanimously for arbitration, may go further and discover a program that will permanently settle the oil problem with justice and honor to both Mexico and the United States. That can be accomplished. But it is not going to be accomplished as long as American owners of oil lands in Mexico do the negotiating. Whenever the United States government acts with veritable independence, ignoring all secret and improper influences, then the permanent solution of the oil controversy is at hand; but not until then.

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